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EUROPE'S BUSINESS NEWSPAPER

# FINANCIAL TIMES

LOMBARD  
Sanctions versus war  
- a sober view  
Page 19

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## World News Business Summary

### De Klerk rounds on critics over violence

President F.W. de Klerk attacked South African church and political leaders who blamed his Government for violence among rival black factions which has so far claimed over 750 lives. The attack restated the Government's view that the violence was essentially tribal, and not the work of a right-wing conspiracy. Page 20.

### Oil tanker explodes

A US oil tanker exploded and burned out of control in the Saginaw River, Michigan, injuring at least 15 people and spilling some of the vessel's 204,000 litre cargo. Page 20.

### Rally for democracy

About 70,000 people rallied in the Zambian town of Kitwe as pro-democracy campaigners warned of mass action unless the government of President Kenneth Kaunda agreed to their demands. Page 5.

### Colombian bombing

Left-wing guerrillas bombed two sections of Colombia's main oil pipeline near the Venezuelan border, forcing the suspension of crude pumping. Page 5.

### Suharto frees critic

A 1,000-strong crowd greeted one of Indonesia's leading dissidents, Hartono Dharsono, when he was freed after more than five years in jail on subversion charges. Page 6.

### IRA kidnapping

Security forces on both sides of the Irish border were last night searching for a policeman kidnapped by the Irish Republican Army in South Armagh. Page 6.

### Pressure on Bhutto

Pakistan's Sindh province said it was investigating 31 cases of alleged financial irregularities by the government of ousted Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto. Page 5.

### Gabon poll riots

Angry voters alleging foul play smashed ballot boxes and closed Libreville's highest polling station. The poll chaos erupted as Gabon moved towards ending 30 years of one-party rule. Page 5.

### Rebels claim victory

Eritrean rebels claimed they had crushed an Ethiopian government offensive near Asmara after killing more than 1,000 soldiers and injuring a further 1,900. Page 5.

### Thaw in relations

Israel described a milestone visit to Moscow by two cabinet members as a big step forward in diplomatic relations, which were severed after the 1967 Six Day War. Page 6.

### Germany's new role

A senior Soviet official has floated the idea that a united Germany should become the sixth permanent member of the United Nations Security Council. Page 3.

### Swedish nuclear ban

Sweden's ruling Social Democrats vowed to ban visits by foreign warships in two years' time unless they guarantee there are no nuclear arms on board. Page 3.

### Reagan in Moscow

Ronald Reagan, former US President who built a political career on anti-communism, arrived in Moscow as the personal guest of Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. Page 3.

### Cash down the drain

US Secret Service agents were called in to help flush out a Long Beach counterfeiter after plumbers trying to unclog a university sewer found it was blocked by about \$1m in fake \$100 bills. Page 3.

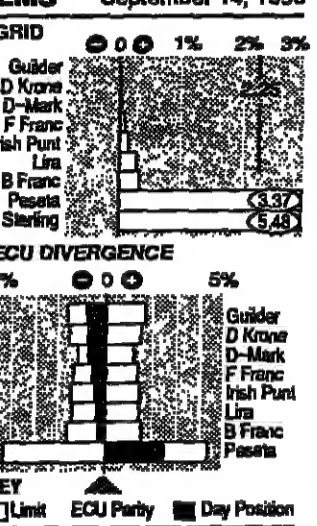
### Writs issued against Rover and BAe over subsidies

The British Government has issued writs against British Aerospace and Rover in order to recover £44.4m (\$81.4m) in state subsidies made illegally to the two companies during BAe's controversial takeover of Rover in 1988. Page 21.

### EUROPEAN Monetary System

A strong performance by the Belgian franc enabled the national bank to cut treasury bill rates - the main instrument of credit policy - for the third consecutive week. Higher French inflation, resulting from rising oil prices, had little impact on the French franc. Trading within the EMS was generally quiet, with attention on the foreign exchanges focused on the strength of the yen. Page 21.

### EMS September 14, 1990



The chart shows the constraints on EMS exchange rates. The upper grid, based on the system's weakest currency, defines the cross-rates from which only the peseta may move by more than 3% per cent. The lower chart gives currencies' divergence from the central rate against the European Currency Unit (ECU), itself derived from a basket of currencies. Currents. Page 31.

### URUGUAY Round: Businessmen and trade negotiators are warning of a critical situation in talks on liberalising the \$600bn-a-year trade in services.

Page 6.

### VAUXHALL: General Motors subsidiary is to more than double scheduled exports from UK plants.

Page 20.

### NEW YORK Post, loss-making tabloid which was facing closure, has concluded a tentative agreement with unions.

Page 21.

### BERLINER Verlag: Robert Maxwell, UK publisher, and Bertelsmann, West German media group, have paid DM250m-300m (\$157m-189m) for 100 per cent of East Germany's largest publishing group.

Page 23.

### EDTV: France and West Germany are to patch up a rift over EC efforts to establish a high definition television standard.

Page 6.

### BRITISH Rail planners working on fresh proposals for high-speed link between London and the Channel tunnel have finally ruled out route being used for freight as well as passenger traffic.

Page 12.

### IVECO's acquisition of a majority stake in the Spanish truck-maker Enasa is likely to be the first European merger to be examined under new EC rules.

Page 4.

### EASTERN Electricity, UK electricity companies, may take a stake in nuclear power stations planned by British Nuclear Fuels, state-owned nuclear reprocessing group.

Page 12.

### FT/AIBD international bond prices were not available for this edition due to a technical problem.

## Tornado deal under threat as Saudis buy \$20bn US arms

By Lara Mariowe in Dhahran

SAUDI ARABIA plans to double the size of its armed forces and buy up to \$20bn of equipment from the US.

The wide-ranging military reorganisation is likely to undermine British efforts to increase arms sales to the Kingdom.

Under a Saudi-American deal to be submitted to the US Congress this week, Saudi Arabia plans to buy McDonnell Douglas F-15 fighter aircraft in place of a provisional agreement with British Aerospace to buy 48 Tornado Air Defence Variants.

Saudi Arabia always preferred the F-15 to the Tornado, but was twice prevented from purchasing the American interceptor by Congress.

Saudi Arabia had bought 60 F-15s under a restrictive agreement in 1978, and was denied 45 extended range versions of the F-15 in 1985, when the first phase of the \$10bn (\$18.5bn) deal with BAe was concluded.

The second phase of the UK deal was already in doubt before the Gulf crisis, but the additional 48 Tornados, a British-built air base and British electronics offered to Saudi Arabia are now likely to be the first confirmed casualties of the US-Saudi deal.

The equipment, construction project and training were the subject of a memorandum of understanding signed in 1988, and there was no contractual obligation on the part of Saudi Arabia to go through with the purchase.

Saudi Arabia has taken delivery of 24 F-15s since the beginning of the Gulf crisis and 12 more have already been paid for. At least 24 F-15s are to be included in the new US deal, giving Saudi Arabia an eventual total of between 120 and 140 F-15s.

The Saudi air force had proposed buying a total of 120 Tornados, including 60 Interceptor and strike aircraft and 60 ADVs. Seventy-two aircraft were signed for and 48 of the strike Tornados and 12 of the ADVs have been delivered.

The Saudi air force has not been satisfied with the ADV version, which it is said in Saudi Arabia has slower and inferior computerised identification, targeting and firing systems than the F-15.

The Saudis are awaiting the delivery of a further 12 strike Tornados and will ask British Aerospace to change the outstanding order for 12 undelivered ADVs to an additional 12 strike Tornados.

Britain retains a contract to supply minesweepers and to construct one air base in Saudi Arabia. Another unsigned agreement for a second air base is now likely to go to the Americans.

Saudi Arabia may spend \$7bn of its \$50bn in foreign reserves to finance the first tranche of the \$20bn American

deal. Saudi Arabia is offering \$8bn per year for the next three years to the US followed by a subsequent \$1.5bn annual payment for the duration of the contract, which is intended to cover all of Saudi Arabia's defence needs for the rest of the century.

The higher price of oil and a 2bn barrels a day increase in Saudi oil production have provided the Saudi Government with at least \$120m per day (\$3.6bn per month) in windfall profits which will help to finance the arms deal.

By 1995, the Saudi air force would like to have at least 120 F15 interceptors, 60 British Hawk light attack aircraft, 60 Tornado strike aircraft, and replace its 80 F-5E ground attack aircraft with F-15 Hornets - for a total force of 300 combat aircraft.

To preclude the recurrence of a crisis requiring foreign intervention, the Saudi Government wishes to double its 38,000-strong army and equip it with up to 1,300 American M1 and M60 main battle tanks.

Saudi Arabia's religious leaders, embarrassed by the presence of US troops on Saudi soil, are expected to support the weapons purchases and doubling of the armed forces.

A 1989 \$2.7bn Franco-Saudi deal for frigates, helicopters, and surface-to-air missiles is also being accelerated.

The Gulf crisis, Page 2; Lombard, Page 19.

medium-term support is likely to be in parallel with IMF and World Bank efforts.

While it is accepted that sanctions and the loss of remittances from workers in Iraq are causing severe short-term disruptions, officials involved want to ensure the impact of reform is maintained and that policy disciplines do not disappear.

The co-ordination of such assistance will be informally discussed in Washington at the annual meetings starting

Continued on Page 30

## Aid for frontline states to be spent on reforms

By Peter Riddell, US Editor, in Washington

THE \$9bn in promised international economic assistance for Egypt, Turkey and Jordan, the countries hardest hit by sanctions against Iraq, is to be integrated into reform programmes backed by the International Monetary Fund and World Bank.

Mr Nicholas Brady, the US Treasury Secretary, said yesterday the burden-sharing exercise to secure larger international contributions for the Gulf crisis had produced \$18bn to \$20bn in commitments. Some of this will go to help

defray the additional US military costs of its deployment in the Gulf, some will go in emergency food and refugee aid, but about half will be for medium-term economic assistance and reform programmes.

A senior US official closely involved in the exercise said the Arab states and Jordan wanted to ensure that the large sums of money were not wasted but were instead used to reinforce existing and proposed economic reform programmes in the affected "frontline" countries. This

medium-term support is likely to be in parallel with IMF and World Bank efforts.

While it is accepted that sanctions and the loss of remittances from workers in Iraq are causing severe short-term disruptions, officials involved want to ensure the impact of reform is maintained and that policy disciplines do not disappear.

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## Record transfer of resources to industrialised world, says bank

By Stephen Fidler, Euromarkets Correspondent, in London

DEVELOPING countries transferred record resources last year to the industrialised world the World Bank says in its annual report, published today.

The bank's report, the most significant annual analysis of the financial relationship between the developing and developed world, warns that the prospects for new finance for developing countries are poor.

The record transfer of resources in 1989 comes after a decade in which developing countries have passed huge amounts of money to lenders in the developed world. Before the debt crisis, which erupted in 1982, the developed world had benefited from a net inflow of resources.

The World Bank shows that net transfers of resources - the amount by which developing countries debt service payments exceed new flows of funds to them - reached \$42.9bn last year, according to preliminary estimates. This is

a \$5bn increase on the previous record of \$37.6bn in 1988.

The main reason for the increased flow of resources to the industrialised world was the sharp fall in the flow of new funds to developing countries to the lowest level in the decade. Net flows - new loans less capital repaid - dropped to \$18.8bn from \$22.8bn.

This fall largely reflected the collapse in concerted lending by commercial banks. This was in turn a response to the sharp jump in arrears on interest payments to commercial banks. These arrears rose from about \$10bn at the end of 1988 to about \$16.4bn a year later, the Bank said.

The report is gloomy about the prospects for a rise in foreign finance to developing countries. The report says: "The prospects for any increases in sources of external financing for the developing countries are not promising except for those involved in debt-workout exercises and for countries implementing eco-

nomic reforms."

The decline in commercial lending has helped bring about what the Bank calls the "officialisation of the debt problem" - the growing role of official creditors rather than commercial banks in handling the debt.

By the end of 1989, about 48 per cent of long-term developing country debt was held by official creditors compared with 38 per cent at the start of the debt crisis in 1982.

Although the share of foreign direct investment of total flows to developing countries has doubled over the last decade, absolute amounts have decreased and continued to decline in 1989.

Net transfers last year to the World Bank, criticised in recent years as a beneficiary of significant transfers of resources from the Third World, dropped considerably to \$32m in the fiscal year to end-June from \$3.83bn the year before. Background, Page 20



A demonstrator burns a Soviet flag outside Moscow Town Hall during the march

## Moscow marchers demand government's resignation

By Quentin Peel in Moscow

TENS OF THOUSANDS of Muscovites marched through the Soviet capital yesterday to demand the resignation of Mr Nikolai Ryzhkov, the Prime Minister, and his Government

for its failure to overhaul the ailing economy.

The demonstrators called for the instant endorsement of the radical plan by Professor Stanislav Shatalin, a senior economic adviser to President Mikhail Gorbachev, to transform the economy into a market system in 500 days, as endorsed by both Mr Gorbachev and Mr Boris Yeltsin, the popular leader of the Russian federation.

Their protest came on the eve of a crucial debate in the Supreme Soviet, the national parliament, which has to decide whether to back the Shatalin plan, or a similar compromise, or go along with Mr Ryzhkov's far more cautious strategy to manage the transition through administered price rises.

The rally was summoned by the radical deputies in the so-called Inter-regional Group,

including Mr Yeltsin, and Mr Gavril Popov, the mayor of Moscow, in a further effort to force Mr Ryzhkov to quit.

Yet the Prime Minister was still fighting for his political survival at the weekend, issuing a new warning of the dire consequences of trying to switch too rapidly to a market system.

"I favour averting chaos in every sphere of our country's life," he said in a television interview. "I favour securing social guarantees to protect our people. We must not give in to the shock therapy so much spoken about."

In spite of his apparent sincerity, Mr Ryzhkov's approach is now identified with the attempts of the government bureaucracy to maintain its centralised control over the state planning apparatus, and popular support has ebbed dramatically as the economy has steadily disintegrated.

The demonstrators chanted "Ryzhkov resign" and "Down with the government and the KGB" as they embarked on the two-hour march from the gates

of Gorky Park, round the city's Garden Ring, and down Tverskaya Street to the Manege Square by the Kremlin.

As they marched through Pushkin Square, where hundreds of people were queuing under umbrellas at the McDonald's restaurant, they also chanted "Down with the capitalists of McDonald's," suggesting a resentment of the growing western influence in Moscow.

Given the growing food shortages and empty shelves across the country, the mood of the rally was sombre enough.

"This is a Government which is unable to fill the shelves, and which cannot even collect a bumper harvest," Mr Popov declared, to loud cheers. He called for an alliance of the centre and the left - that is to say, the most radical reformers seeking to transform the Communist system - on the lines of the latest Gorbachev-Yeltsin pact. Speculation over Ryzhkov's successor, Page 20. Israel hails Moscow talks, Page 6

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All bankers abhor a crisis, but few actually have to live through one. Someone who has is Abdullahi Sadi, the president and chief executive of Arab Banking Corporation, one of the leading banks in the Arab world. Page 36

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## FT SURVEYS THIS WEEK



WORLD: A stronger economy emerges as Wales attracts new areas of business and industry. 1

Hungary: grappling with the legacies of communism. 1

TUESDAY: World Car Industry: Europe is expected to be the big battlefield of the 1990s for the world's car-makers. 1

FRIDAY: City of London Property: changes in the pattern of demand. 1

Denmark: coming to terms with membership of the European Community. 1

Production of the new Nissan 'Primera' at Sunderland. Car-makers around the globe are facing the pressure of Japanese competition (see World Car Industry, Tuesday). 1

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## CRISIS IN THE GULF

## UN condemns Baghdad's action against embassies

By Michael Littlejohns in New York and Our Foreign Staff

THE UN Security Council yesterday strongly condemned what it termed aggressive acts against diplomats and embassies in Kuwait and voted to discuss measures to tighten the economic embargo against Iraq - possibly by extending it to cover air transport.

Yesterday's emergency session was convened at France's request, following the storming of the French ambassador's residence in Kuwait and Iraqi actions against the embassies of the Netherlands, Canada and Belgium.

President François Mitterrand responded on Saturday to the incursion into the French ambassador's residence by expelling 40 Iraqis and boosting ground forces in the Gulf.

EC foreign ministers will co-ordinate a united response to Iraq's actions at the regular monthly meeting of Community foreign ministers in Brussels today.

Mr Mark Eyskens, Belgium's Foreign Minister, said during a visit to Egypt yesterday that the EC had decided to take action against Iraqi representatives in Europe, but declined to elaborate on what moves would be taken.

However, Italy, which holds

the EC presidency, yesterday pre-empted any united EC response by banning Iraqi diplomats in Rome from leaving the city without permission. The Italian government also expelled the Iraqi military attaché and his staff.

It said the measures followed "very grave and intolerable acts of hostility" by the Iraqis in Kuwait. Italy's embassy in Kuwait is one of the few still open despite the Iraqi order to close after the country's annexation of the emirate.

EC ministers may consider today whether to call for sanctions against countries which do not apply the UN trade embargo imposed against Iraq. Italy, France and the US all said on Saturday that they favour such a move.

The ministers will also meet Mr David Levy, the Israeli Foreign Minister, who will be anxious to ensure that the realignments in the Middle East triggered by the crisis will not further damage relations already strained by the Palestinian issue.

The meeting is likely to agree to unblock EC funds for Syria which have been frozen since December 1986, after a foiled bomb attack on an El Al

airliner in London in which Damascus was implicated.

Diplomats say that Britain, which cut relations with Syria over the 1986 bomb attack, has now dropped its objection to renewing EC financial aid to the country.

Details of help for Egypt, Jordan and Turkey, are likely to dominate the meeting.

In New York, meanwhile, diplomats said intense private talks were under way with a view to extending the economic embargo on Iraq to include air traffic and to apply measures against countries that violated the ban against Iraq and occupied Kuwait ordered six weeks ago.

The west should consider bargaining with Iraq over a withdrawal from Kuwait, former British prime minister Edward Heath said yesterday.

He said President Saddam was not "a Hitler" and the west should consider an Arab-mediated settlement. Concessions such as a peace conference on the Palestinian issue, the handing over of two deserted Kuwaiti islands to Iraq, or a pact on disputed oil rights, might end the crisis without seeming to reward Mr Saddam for invading Kuwait, he said.

## Iraq allows Kuwaitis to cross to Saudi Arabia

By Lara Marlowe in Dhahran and a Correspondent in Khafji

IRAQ'S occupying army opened Kuwait's southern border at the weekend, allowing as many as 2,000 Kuwaitis to flee to Saudi Arabia.

Foreigners, however, including thousands of stranded migrant workers from Asia, were not allowed to leave. Nor were any westerners in hiding in Kuwait City known to have escaped.

Saudi officials offered several possible explanations for the Iraqi move. One theory is that President Saddam Hussein of Iraq was using the Kuwaiti exodus to send saboteurs into Saudi Arabia's Eastern Province, where most American servicemen are deployed.

Kuwaitis crossing the border

suggested that Iraq was anxious about food shortages or planning to colonise their country further by offering them the choice of leaving or taking Iraqi citizenship.

Iraqi forces confiscated passports, money and valuables from the fleeing Kuwaitis, who were being kept in the border town of Khafji pending identification by Saudi officials.

Because the Iraqis have seized the passport office in Kuwait City, Kuwaiti passports are no longer considered reliable identification by Saudi authorities in any case.

Fears of Iraqi sabotage have increased following unconfirmed reports that two men, believed to be Iraqis, cut a hole

Prince Saud Al-Faisal, the Saudi Foreign Minister, arrived in Moscow yesterday to sign an accord establishing diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union after a break of more than a half a century, according to Tass, Reuter reports from Moscow.

He said in remarks published in Riyadh yesterday that the Soviet Union's firm stand against Iraq in the Gulf crisis made the timing right to resume relations.

In a chain-link fence surrounding jet fuel tanks in Jubail one night last week.

The flow of refugees across the desert to Saudi Arabia -

where up to 300,000 Kuwaitis have already sought asylum - has been curbed by Iraqi soldiers who shoot at vehicles, and by mines.

The Kuwaitis arriving at Khafji by road yesterday spoke of a city in decay, where shooting and explosions could be heard every night. "Kuwait is a jail if you stay at home and a jungle if you go outside," one young man said.

Refugees claimed that people were being shot for refusing to put up photographs of Saddam Hussein or the Iraqi flag, and told to spit or stamp on pictures of Sheikh Jaber al-Sabah, the ousted emir.

One man said he had been forced by Iraqi soldiers to

shave his head and beard. Asked whether he had worked with the resistance, the man said: "If you stay there and don't co-operate with them, it is a kind of resistance."

A Filipino woman, married to a Kuwaiti, said the Iraqis were being assisted by Palestinian residents. "In our area of Salmiya, the Palestinians are wearing uniforms. There is no government, no law and order," she said. "In Rawdah, where my mother-in-law lives, they burned 25 houses three days ago."

A young Kuwaiti man said: "Forty-three days we have waited for the Americans. Why haven't they attacked? Are they afraid of the Iraqis?"

## Weapons deal with Riyadh alarms Israel

By Hugh Carnegie in Jerusalem

ISRAEL yesterday reacted strongly to news that the US planned to sell arms worth \$20bn (\$10.8bn) to Saudi Arabia. It said such a move could drastically affect the balance of power in the Middle East and erode Israel's security.

Officials said Mr Moshe Arens, the Defence Minister, would raise Israeli objections forcefully when he met Mr George Shultz, the US Secretary, in Washington today.

Israel, anxious to see Iraq defeated, has watched with deepening but muted concern as the US has bolstered the military strength of its Arab allies in the Gulf conflict. However, the scale of the latest US arms sales to Saudi Arabia has brought a loud response to what it sees as the longer-term implications.

"We don't know what the future of those Arab countries is," said Mr Ariel Sharon, Housing Minister and former Defence Minister, after yesterday's cabinet meeting. "We regard it as a major danger to Israel."

Last week, before the latest announcement, Mr Arens said Israel was worried about losing the qualitative military edge it has always relied on for its ability to deter or defeat potential Arab foes.

These concerns are heightened by the financial squeeze exerted by the influx of Soviet Jewish immigrants which is restricting funds available for defence spending.

In Washington, Mr Arens will reiterate Israeli demands that new arms sales to Arab states be balanced by more aid and supplies to Israel.

## Radicals may send ship to challenge blockade

By Lami Andoni in Amman

ARAB RADICALS met in Jordan yesterday to draw up plans to send a ship with food and medicine to the West Bank and Gaza, and to challenge the international blockade.

Delegates were also drafting an appeal expected to demand withdrawal of foreign troops and implementation of UN resolutions on Kuwait and the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Participants at the three-day meeting, organised by the left-wing Jordanian Arab National Democratic Alliance, aim to endorse the link made by President Saddam Hussein between a solution to the Gulf crisis and demands for an Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories.

They remain divided, however, on how to challenge directly to Iraq's takeover of

Kuwait. In a letter read to the meeting yesterday, leaders of the Palestinian revolt in the West Bank and Gaza urged Baghdad's allies Algeria and Libya to cut off oil to the west and send troops to help Iraq.

Leftists and Arab nationalists grappled with the problem of how to collaborate over the Gulf crisis with Islamic fundamentalists. The Amman meeting includes more than 30 radical groups from eight countries, and some Islamic representatives.

King Hussein of Jordan, who had accepted an invitation to open the conference, did not appear. Representatives of left-wing Egyptian parties and a number of Syrian activists were reportedly barred from the meeting by their respective governments.

## Bush warns Iraqi TV viewers: you are 'on the brink of war'

By Peter Riddell, US Editor, in Washington

PRESIDENT George Bush yesterday warned the Iraqi people that they were "on the brink of war" because President Saddam Hussein had misled them into invading Kuwait.

In a videotaped message broadcast by Iraqi television yesterday, Mr Bush, who was shown standing in front of his desk in the Oval Office of the White House, said: "Iraq stands isolated and alone."

"Saddam Hussein tells you that this crisis is a struggle between Iraq and America. In fact, it is Iraq against the world."

While warning of the dangers of the current situation, he said: "War is not inevitable. It is still possible to bring this crisis to a peaceful end."

In the eight-minute message, including a voice-over translation and captions in Arabic, Mr Bush quoted a speech by the Iraqi president in November 1988, in which he said: "An Arab country does not have the right to occupy another Arab country. If Iraq should become intoxicated by its power and move to overwhelm another Arab state, the Arabs would be right to deploy their armies to check it."

The Bush broadcast was followed immediately by a strong attack by the Iraqi government spokesman, who said it was full of lies and accused the US president of trying to become "the dictator of the whole world".



Bush on Iraqi television yesterday

Thousands of demonstrators took to the streets of cities in government-organised anti-American demonstrations.

Mr Brent Scowcroft, Mr Bush's national security adviser, yesterday played down a report that the US would rely on massive air strikes to force

Iraq out of Kuwait. The Washington Post yesterday quoted General Michael Dugan, the Air Force Chief of Staff, as saying the US joint chiefs of staff and senior commanders in the Gulf had agreed on the importance of an air offensive, including large raids on Baghdad and targeting Mr Saddam.

Mr Scowcroft, himself an air force general, said Gen Dugan was "not in the chain of command and he does not speak for the administration".

## US call for burden-sharing raises funds — and unresolved questions

PRESIDENT George Bush's drive to share the burden of the Gulf crisis has produced \$18bn to \$20bn (\$10.8bn) in commitments of economic and military assistance in less than two weeks from Saudi Arabia, other Gulf states, Japan and Europe, writes Peter Riddell.

However, the exercise has raised questions about the involvement of US allies in decisions over the Gulf operations - "no taxation without representation" - and about American attitudes towards its global defence responsibilities.

Not surprisingly, Mr James Baker, the US Secretary of State, and Mr Nicholas Brady, Treasury

Secretary, are delighted with the results of their globe-trotting around 13 countries this month. Mr Brady, who visited Tokyo 10 days ago, said Japan had provided more than \$10bn, from \$1bn to \$2bn, in financial support which the US had sought.

The help comes in various kinds: provision of oil and transport, a contribution to defraying US military costs, emergency food and other relief for refugees (notably in Jordan), and assistance to the coalition of countries most affected by sanctions against Iraq, especially Egypt, Turkey and Iraq.

Roughly half the aid is in economic assistance of one form or other.

The rough distribution of contributions (the numbers and timings are not strictly comparable) is \$10bn to \$12bn from Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states, including \$5bn from the exiled Kuwaiti government; \$4bn from Japan; \$2bn from the European Community; and over \$1.8bn from West Germany (excluding its EC contribution).

The promised help, both in kind and cash, should cover much of the additional costs for the US of the military deployment.

As comments by Mr Tom Foley, the Democratic House Speaker, and

Senator Bob Dole, the Republican Minority leader, showed yesterday, the weekend's announcements should for the short-term answer some of the recent strong criticisms of the US role in the response of Japan and West Germany.

However, there is still likely to be grumbling that neither Tokyo nor Bonn has done enough, notably because of their failure, or inability, to make a military commitment.

The Gulf crisis, coupled with the end of the Cold War, has revived the debate about the scale of US forces abroad, both in Europe and the Far East, and about who should

pay for them. There has been a paradox at the heart of the US response to the Gulf crisis. At one level there has been a delight in asserting an American leadership role - "number one" again.

But this has been coupled with a widespread demand for the burden to be shared, for wealthy allies dependent on oil imports to make a greater contribution.

Yet countries offering a sizeable contribution will seek a say in making decisions. This is separate from the legal issue of whether any use of force should have to be sanctioned specifically by a further UN

Security Council resolution, which so dominated the British parliamentary debate 10 days ago but which has hardly been mentioned in the US.

Not only are there uncertainties about how far the US needs to obtain Saudi approval for any attack on Iraq, but the question has now been broadened by the decision of both Britain and France to commit ground forces.

The issues involved in co-ordinating ground forces are of a wholly different kind from the existing, apparently smooth co-ordination of naval forces in enforcing the blockade against Iraq.

Public opinion in Britain and France will want to see their governments having a say in any decision to commit land forces to battle - being consulted rather than just informed - as well as clear signs of a co-ordinated command structure on the ground.

The decisions by London and Paris to commit land forces increases the stakes for them. By seeking burden-sharing, the US has forfeited the right to take unilateral decisions over the use of military force.

There has, however, been scant public recognition of that in US public discussion so far.

## France heads for less independent role

By Ian Davidson in Paris

FRANCE's decision to send substantial additional military forces to the Gulf, including 4,000 ground troops and a regiment of 48 light AMX-10 armoured vehicles, is a qualitatively new step in its deployment of an offensive capability against Iraq.

The French decision was announced on Saturday by President François Mitterrand, as part of a three-point response to the Iraqi intrusion on Friday into the French ambassador's residence in Kuwait and the kidnapping of four French citizens, including the military attaché.

Mr Mitterrand painted a sombre picture of the dangers lying ahead: "There is no sign visible from Iraq which would indicate that we shall escape an armed conflict. To judge by the course of Iraqi actions, there seems to be a bellicose spirit which does not appear to have waned over the risks. We must be ready; but we do not think we have reached the end of the escalation."

Mr Mitterrand's decisions were warmly endorsed both by the ruling Socialist Party and by the main conservative opposition parties. Even the Communist Party gave him qualified support for his intention to issue a fresh appeal to Iraq to the UN Security Council.

The only discordant voice continued to be that of Mr Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of

the extreme right-wing National Front party, who called the French decision a "regrettable but minor incident".

In addition to the deployment of ground forces, Mr Mitterrand announced a new recourse to the UN Security Council, including a call that the economic embargo of Iraq should be extended to cover air transport, and for stronger measures against countries and companies evading the embargo.

He also said that France would expel 37 Iraqis, including 11 diplomats.

A new round of European talks on the intensification of the Iraq crisis is expected to take place today at a regular meeting of the 12 European Community foreign ministers, and tomorrow at a specially convened session of foreign and defence ministers of the nine-nation Western European Union defence grouping.

Since early in the crisis, the French government has prided itself on the firmness of its response to the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait and on having fielded the largest fleet in the Gulf apart from that of the US.

However, France's deployment in the Gulf has hitherto been largely naval and tailored for the enforcement of the naval embargo against Iraq; its non-naval forces

(mainly marines and helicopters) are based either aboard the aircraft carrier Clemenceau or in the French garrison at Djibouti.

The naval character of the forces has hitherto given colour to the government's traditional assertion of an independent military role in the Gulf. That claim will be more difficult to sustain after the deployment of offensive forces in the region, including armoured vehicles and attack aircraft.

The additional French forces being deployed to the Gulf include:

- an air-mobile brigade of three regiments;
- a regiment of 48 combat

helicopters;

- an armoured regiment of 48 AMX-10 armoured vehicles;
- an infantry regiment with anti-tank weapons;
- an anti-aircraft section with high-performance ground-to-air Mistral missiles; and
- some 30 Mirage 2000, Mirage F1 and Jaguar combat aircraft.

French forces already in the region include 14 ships and 9,000 men, of which 3,850 are accounted for by the permanent French garrison at Djibouti. This will take the total to 13,000 men.

Three French ships are on patrol to enforce the embargo; the remainder are in port at Djibouti.

MR James Baker, US Secretary of State, said he was well pleased with a larger-than-expected German contribution to the Gulf crisis, valued at DM3.3bn (\$1.12bn), after talks with Chancellor Helmut Kohl, writes David Goodhart in Bonn.

Pressure on Germany to step up its contribution intensified at the end of last week after a stormy debate in the US Congress. The new contribution is nearly three times bigger than had been expected and Mr Baker said he was "very satisfied with the very significant figures".

Mr Kohl, who met Mr Baker in his home in Oggersheim, said he regretted that Germany's constitutional limits on troop deployment outside the Nato area made it difficult for the country to fulfil

## Egyptian boost for Arab commitment

By Tony Walker in Cairo

EGYPT is sending 15,000 more troops, backed by tanks and armoured personnel carriers, to Saudi Arabia, in a significant boost to the Arab commitment to a possible war with Iraq.

A senior Egyptian intelligence officer said the troops would leave today to join 2,500 special desert-trained commandos who formed Egypt's advance guard to the Saudi kingdom.

Their despatch follows Syria's decision last week to send some 11,000 troops and 300 Soviet-supplied T-72 tanks to Saudi Arabia. The Syrians already have 3,200 men on the ground in the kingdom and

more than 1,000 in the United Arab Emirates.

The buildup of a pan-Islamic force - Pakistan and Bangladesh are also increasing their commitment - coincides with French and British decisions to commit ground forces to add to more than 100,000 Americans already in Saudi Arabia.

Egypt is understood to be sending M-60 tanks and M-113 APC's plus air defence systems - some of this equipment will be shipped across the Red Sea and some will be airlifted - to Saudi Arabia. The American-supplied equipment would fit in with much of the other kit being used by the US and its Gulf allies.

A military attaché in Cairo said that Egypt's decision to send armour to the Saudi desert represented a big jump in its commitment to efforts to force Iraq from Kuwait and bring down President Saddam Hussein.

It seems possible that the pan-Islamic force will eventually match the US presence in the kingdom. With the Egyptian and Syrian commitments, total troop numbers on the ground in Saudi Arabia will reach about 200,000.

Iraq has some 170,000 troops in Kuwait itself, many of them dug in along Kuwait's borders with Saudi Arabia or in fortified positions on the Kuwaiti seacoast. Baghdad has also deployed thousands of men on its southern boundary with Saudi Arabia.

Egypt's enhanced military commitment to Saudi Arabia coincides with a stuttering row involving Egyptian opposition figures who were denied permission to leave the country last week to attend a political rally in Amman and travel on to Baghdad.

Among those denied permission to leave were Mr Ibrahim Shukry, leader of the Labour Party, Mr Maamoun Hodeibi, the Moslem Brotherhood's parliamentary leader, and several figures from the socialist Tugammu party, including Mrs Farida Naqash.

Mrs Naqash described the

refusal of the authorities to allow her to travel as "an assault on democracy and against basic rights granted to the people by the constitution". She said she was taking the government to court.

The decision to deny travel rights to opposition leaders reflects official sensitivity to criticism of Egypt's decision to commit forces to Saudi Arabia and its support for the American military presence in the region.

Egypt's opposition has, for the most part, refrained from public criticism, restricting itself to expressing reservations about the presence of foreign troops in Saudi Arabia.

Egypt, meanwhile, has taken steps to tighten security on its border, fearing Iraqi-inspired terrorist attack. It has imposed entry restrictions on Iraqis and Kuwaitis and barred most Palestinians from visiting.

Reuters quoted officials as saying at the weekend that Kuwaitis were included in the new travel curbs because Iraq had taken possession of the passport office in Kuwait and may issue Kuwaiti passports to agents sent to Egypt.

EgyptAir has also tightened security on flights from some Arab capitals. Extra security officers are being employed to search passengers' baggage from places such as Amman which has supported Iraq in the Gulf crisis.



A Kuwaiti mother and child wait to cross into Saudi Arabia yesterday

Handwritten text at the bottom of the page: "Sept 17 1990"



## INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Moscow plan for another 'big power' to become a permanent member of the Security Council  
**Larger UN role urged for united Germany**

By David Goodhart in Bonn

A SENIOR Soviet official has floated the idea that a united Germany should become the sixth permanent member of the United Nations Security Council alongside the US, the Soviet Union, China, Britain and France.

Mr Nikolai Portugolov, President Mikhail Gorbachev's main adviser on German affairs, also told the West German newspaper Bild am Sonntag that he believed German membership would be unanimously supported by the existing permanent members.

Mr Portugolov's comments on the desirability of a greater world role for the new Germany, coming days after the signing of a wide-ranging co-operation agreement between Bonn and Moscow, could re-awaken anxieties about a new German-Soviet "special relationship" in some western capitals.

One western official said yesterday that the Soviets would hope to acquire a "permanent ally" on the Security Council if Germany was to join.

Mr Portugolov said: "The new Germany will without doubt have not only a regional European dimension but also a global dimension - with a bridging function between east and west."

He added that there were two good reasons to bring Germany on to the Security Council: German help in regional crisis management was vital and the

status of Security Council membership would allow fears about an over-mighty Germany.

Mr James Baker, the US Secretary of State, and Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the West German Foreign Minister, said in Bonn on Saturday that the Soviet proposal for German membership of the Security Council should be discussed at the UN.

At their press conference, Mr Baker praised Bonn for the

higher-than-expected contribution to the Gulf crisis it has decided to make.

Mr Portugolov's idea is not likely to be popular with the Third World, which considers that western powers are already over-represented on the Security Council, and Japan may well claim that it has as much right to a seat as Germany. Germany's lack of nuclear weapons would also leave it the odd man out in an all-nuclear club.

**EC considers big economic aid programme for Soviet Union**

By Quentin Peel in Moscow

THE European Community is to consider a four-part programme of economic aid and co-operation with the Soviet Union, including funds to help make the rouble convertible and support the Soviet balance of payments.

The proposals were revealed in Moscow yesterday by Mr Gianni de Michelis, Italian Foreign Minister, and current chairman of the EC Council of Ministers. He also announced Italy would guarantee up to \$2.5bn (£1.35bn) in short-term credits before the end of the year, including an untied credit of \$1bn as its "contribution to the Soviet programme of economic stabilisation."

He disclosed the figures after talks with President Mikhail Gorbachev and Mr Eduard Shevardnadze, Soviet Foreign Minister. The generous Italian credit facilities - although they include outstanding credit not drawn by the Soviet Union - underline Italy's determination to keep its place as Moscow's second most important west European trading partner behind Germany.

The four-part EC programme will be presented to the Community's heads of government at their Rome summit in October, and formal proposals from the European Commission have yet to be drafted.

Amoco of the US has signed an agreement with the Soviet Union that it hopes will lead to a joint venture to develop Siberian petroleum resources, writes Barbara Durr in Chicago. It will look at the feasibility of developing several oilfields in co-operation with Soviet organisations.

Texasaco already has a similar agreement. The accords show Moscow's interest in using US oil company investment and technology to exploit Siberian reserves.

The first part of the programme would be a credit - possibly \$5bn - as a fund for monetary stabilisation and to enable rapid progress towards rouble convertibility. This would be similar to the current Polish fund.

A second fund would be more directly for balance of payments support over the next 3-4 years, Mr de Michelis said.

The third part of the programme would be for multilateral exploitation of Soviet energy and other natural resources, as proposed by Mr Ruud Lubbers, the Dutch prime minister.

Finally the specifically Italian proposal to be put in Rome

is for a comparable programme for Soviet communications.

The direct Italian assistance, Mr de Michelis said, would include up to \$500m to refinance Soviet debts to Italian suppliers, similar to the DM3bn (£1bn) deal with Bonn earlier this year. All foreign traders have been facing a serious backlog in Soviet payments.

The untied credit of \$1bn would require a special bill in the Italian parliament because there is currently no legal base for such a loan. Moreover the decision is at this stage purely a political one by the Italian government and banks have yet to be found to put up the money.

The third element of the short-term bilateral aid, Mr de Michelis said, was for an additional credit line of L1,000bn with Italian government guarantee to promote Italian exports to re-equip Soviet industry.

German economic experts will fly to Moscow today for talks aimed at helping the difficult birth of market economies there, writes David Marsh. Mr Tylt Necker, president of the Confederation of German Industry, heads the delegation, which also includes Mr Karl Schiller, former Economics minister and Mr Hans Tietmeyer, a Bundesbank director.

**Genscher looks eagerly at new international heights to scale**

WEST GERMANY'S veteran Foreign Minister has not yet run out of visionary peaks to scale. Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who has become increasingly beatific with the approach of German reunification on October 3, is looking forward with ill-concealed satisfaction to becoming all-German Foreign Minister.

He was born in Halle, in what used to be the Communist half of Germany, and fled to the west in 1952. His diplomatic subtlety and drive have been important factors in recent months making unification possible. But the message from Mr Genscher, in an interview with the FT and four other European and US newspapers, is that he still sees no shortage of outlets for his missionary zeal.

Believing European monetary union is too important to be left to the finance ministers, he aims to override the objections of the Bundesbank and

The treaty includes a mutual non-aggression pledge which, in formal terms at least, contradicts part of Germany's collective security commitment within Nato.

Mr Genscher steps carefully around charges, voiced especially in the US Congress, that Germany is forging a "special relationship" with Moscow. It is significant, however, that he is a great admirer of Mr Gustav Stresemann, the Weimar Republic Foreign Minister who in the 1920s showed particular deftness in manoeuvring German foreign policy between the conflicting requirements of east and west.

A portrait of Mr Stresemann looks down approvingly at Mr Genscher as he sprawls in a maroon armchair in his expansive Rhine-side office. Mr Genscher points out that France, too, will shortly agree a comprehensive treaty with the Soviet Union, and that relations between Moscow and the US are "closer than ever before."

He is politely scathing about foreign critics who juxtapose Germany's readiness to channel billions of D-Marks to Moscow and Bonn's reluctance to join the US-led military build-up in the Gulf. "Payments for the withdrawal of Soviet troops are in the interest of the west," he says. So, he adds, is Nato membership of a united Germany. "In the past, we often heard that the Germans would take unity in exchange for neutrality. We have not done that."

The Nato to which the whole of Germany will belong will, however, plainly become a different institution. Mr Genscher says: "I don't know whether it is perhaps a bit reactionary if one uses east and west as political expressions. They are now geographical, not political. The important thing is the fundamental values... You can't say whether democracy is eastern or western. Democracy is democracy. Freedom is freedom."

He makes clear that a united Germany "will have a higher political and economic weight." But he says: "We do not want to turn this into a search for more power, rather for more responsibility." Germany should advocate "the policy of the good example", in areas ranging from the environment to Third World aid, he suggests. He backs a change in the constitution after the December 2 elections to allow German troops to participate in United Nations peace-keeping operations.

There is a corollary to the "good example" policy: ever more foreign ministers will have to discover the delights of

Halle, a medieval market city, now suffering from 40 years of Communist grime, where the composer Handel was born in 1685.

Mr Roland Dumas, the French Foreign Minister, was with Mr Genscher in Halle this weekend. Mindful of the composer's connections with the English court, Mr Genscher has invited Mr Douglas Hurd, the British Foreign Secretary, to his home town for the Handel Festival next May - all part of the Genscher bid to underline how the east-west divide no longer exists.



Mr Genscher: His energies appear directed above all towards building the link between Germany and the Soviet Union

**West Germany's veteran Foreign Minister talks to David Marsh**

Mr Theo Waigel, the Finance Minister, by pressing forward with plans to set up a European central bank. "The single market which starts on January 1 1993 will not be able to flourish fully unless we have a common economic and monetary policy."

Mr Genscher wants to counter energetically the danger that, with the ending of the 40-year division of Europe, the US will increasingly leave the Continent to itself. He favours the continued presence of Nato troops on German territory after unification, although he is coy about numbers. And he urges a solemn "transatlantic declaration" later this year setting out common US and European political goals.

His energies, however, appear directed above all towards building what seems likely to become Europe's pivotal political relationship: the link between a united Germany and the Soviet Union. Last Wednesday in Moscow Mr Genscher signed the final accord of the "3 plus 4" group of foreign ministers on the external aspects of German unity. Germany agreed to provide the Soviet Union with aid totalling DM16bn (\$5.1bn) to ease the departure of Soviet troops from East Germany by the end of 1994.

On Thursday he initiated a far-reaching treaty of "neighbourliness, partnership and co-operation" with Moscow.

**Bonn Foreign Ministry to give EMU a push**

By David Marsh

THE West German Foreign Ministry will today attempt to restore faltering momentum to the drive towards European economic and monetary union (EMU), but risks a clear split with the Bonn Finance Ministry over the issue.

Ms Irmgard Adam-Schwabetzer, Minister of State at the Foreign Ministry, is likely to propose in Brussels today that January 1 1993 be the date for the start of stage two of the move to a European currency and central bank.

EMU will also be high on the

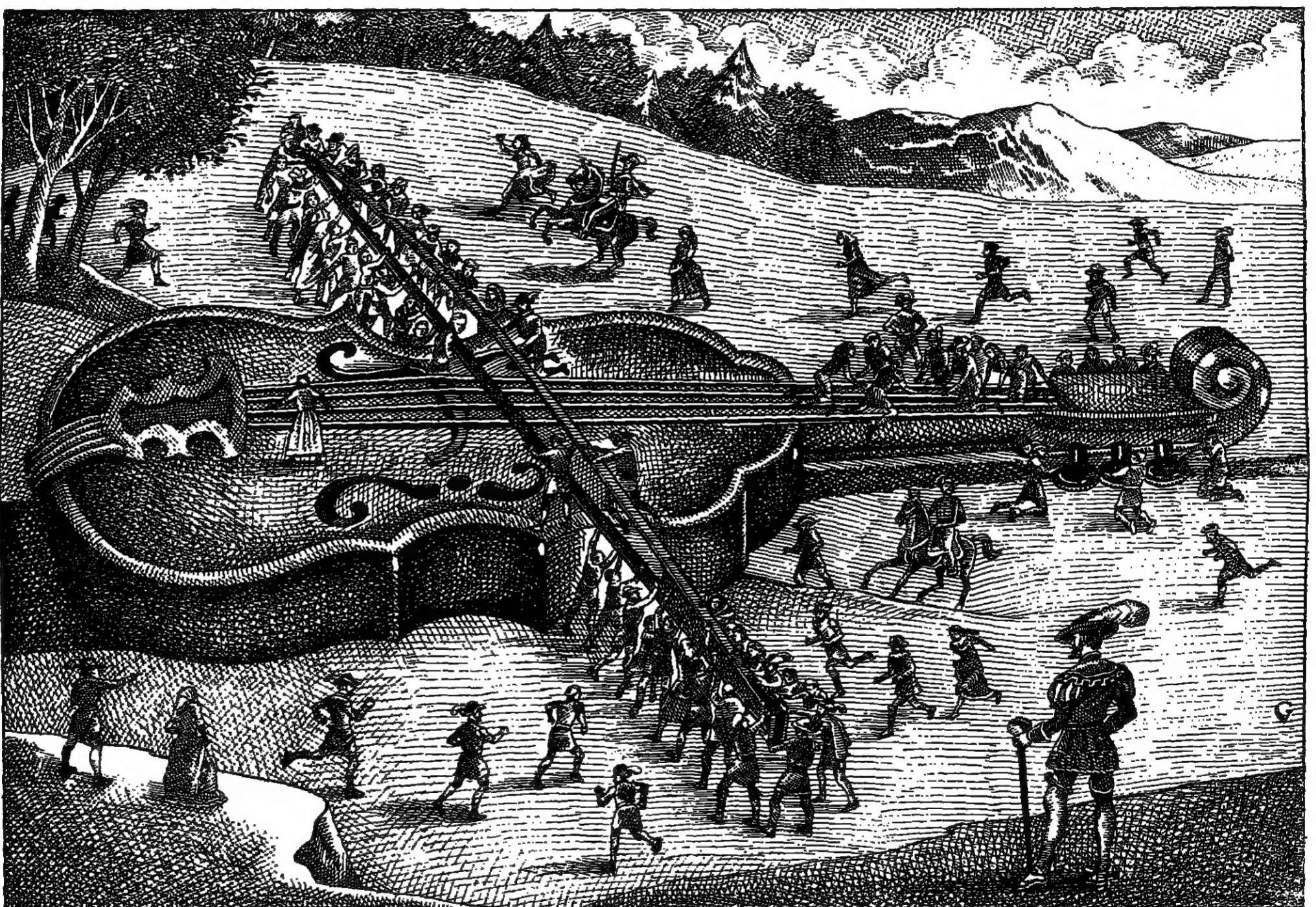
agenda when Chancellor Helmut Kohl meets President François Mitterrand in Munich this evening for the six-monthly Franco-German government talks.

Backed by Mr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the Foreign Minister, Ms Adam-Schwabetzer disapproves of the refusal by Mr Theo Waigel, the Finance Minister, to put forward a stage two date at last weekend's EC meeting in Rome.

Ms Adam-Schwabetzer is likely to suggest that EC states which cannot immediately satisfy all criteria for a common exchange rate policy should benefit from softer rules for an interim period. This raises the possibility that only the relatively low-inflation countries at the heart of the European monetary system - Germany, France and the Benelux countries - would be able to move initially towards full EMU.

The Foreign Ministry believes Mr Waigel and the Bundesbank are playing into the hands of EMU opponents, such as the British Government, who want to delay indefinitely any move to permanently fixed exchange rates. Mr Kohl and Mr Mitterrand brought out a surprise statement in April calling for EMU to be in place by January 1 1993, the starting date for the Community's single market.

Last weekend's inconclusive Rome outcome has heightened French fears that the Germans are now back-tracking from this target.

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## INTERNATIONAL NEWS

THREE-COUNTRY TOUR WILL PROMOTE HER VISION OF AN EXPANDED COMMUNITY

## Thatcher looks for broader Europe

MRS MARGARET THATCHER, the British Prime Minister, was greeted by enthusiastic crowds in Prague last night at the start of a three-nation European tour aimed at promoting her vision of an expanded European Community embracing the newly-democratised east, writes Ivo Dawidowicz in Prague.

Within an hour of her aircraft landing, she had been treated to an unprecedented 21-gun salute, inspected an honour guard with her Czechoslovak counterpart, Mr Marian Calfa, and been mobbed in a hectic city centre walkabout.

The week-long visit to Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Switzerland will serve to flesh out her views on a broader Europe before the 35-nation meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) in Paris in November. It is also intended to improve trade and business links with the two eastern European countries while consolidating old ties with Switzerland.

The EC has ruled out new members

before the internal market is completed at the end of 1992, but in a speech to the Aspen Institute in Colorado last month, Mrs Thatcher spelt out her support for an open-door policy towards the east in the longer term. "The Community should declare unequivocally that it is ready to accept all the countries of eastern Europe as members if they want to join, provided that democracy has taken root and that their economies are capable of sustaining membership," she said.

Czechoslovakia and Hungary are negotiating association agreements with Brussels and intend to seek full membership.

The Prime Minister has also been in the forefront of those seeking the rapid integration of the six European Free Trade Area (EFTA) countries into the frontier-free single EC market at the end of 1992.

Talks with EFTA may be now under way but look unlikely to meet a December deadline for completion because of difficulties in finding adequate consultative mechanisms in the early, formative stage

of the EC's legislative process.

Mrs Thatcher's positive attitudes to closer ties, however, guarantees her a warm welcome in all three countries she visits. The only contentious issue likely to surface centres on Czechoslovak and Hungarian irritation at long delays suffered by their citizens when applying for obtaining visas to visit Britain. Both countries are also likely to seek more financial aid from the UK.

Today, Mrs Thatcher is to talk with President Vaclav Havel and Czech leaders before a speech to the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly tomorrow. She will then meet Slovak leaders in Bratislava before continuing to Hungary.

On Wednesday, she will meet Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and other political leaders, before visiting the Budapest stock exchange. In her two-day official visit to Switzerland, starting on Thursday, she will see President Arnold Koller in Bern, staying on in a private capacity for a lunch on Saturday with bankers.



Enthusiastic crowds and a 21-gun salute greeted Mrs Thatcher in Prague last night at the start of a visit during which she will have talks with President Vaclav Havel

## Iveco deal in Spain under EC scrutiny

By Lucy Kellaway in Brussels

IVECO's acquisition of a majority stake in the Spanish truck-maker Enasa is likely to be the first European merger to be examined under new EC rules. These come into force next Friday and give the Commission sole power to veto big Community mergers.

Although the deal was announced last Thursday, Commission officials said it would be caught by the rules so long as the shares changed hands after September 21.

Even if they do not, however, the Commission would be likely to warn the companies of possible later intervention if it thought there were serious competition objections. The proposed deal would give the new merger department a big case to start on, as it concerns two large national concerns in an important Community market.

Iveco, Fiat's commercial vehicles subsidiary, is the third largest European truck-maker, behind Mercedes-Benz and Renault/Volvo. The addition of Enasa's output - the eighth largest in Europe - would put it in second place.

The Commission will also be looking closely to see if there are hidden elements of state aid in the deal. The Spanish Government was not in favour of selling the heavily loss-making company to a German consortium of MAN and Daimler-Benz, on the grounds that the consortium had sweeping rationalisation plans. Instead, it negotiated the Fiat deal.

## Nice mayor quits

The mayor of Nice, Jacques Médecin, announced his resignation yesterday, bringing to an end a right-wing dynasty reaching back over half a century of Riviera politics, Reuters reports. The Socialists, he claimed, had hounded him from office with calumny and charges of corruption, and were plotting more "low blows" against him.

His business affairs are under investigation and he has been assessed for nearly FF17m (£1.7m) in unpaid taxes and resulting fines.

## Worried frowns belie a quiet confidence in Italian industry

The country's previously successful formula should enable it to prosper in the post-1992 world, writes John Wyles

THE GULF crisis, with its impact on domestic industrial costs, energy prices and general world demand, piles on the agony for Italian industrialists already worried about declining competitiveness in European and world markets.

Barely a week has gone by in recent months without a lament from Mr Sergio Pininfarina, president of the industrialists' organisation Confindustria, about the debilitating impact of rising labour costs and higher government charges on industry's capacity to remain competitive and to meet the challenges of Europe's new internal market.

Distinguishing between short-term posturing and underlying reality is never easy in Italy, however. Mr Pininfarina can point to a 10.5 per cent rise in labour costs last year and the dangers of a similar climb this year. But the 10.1 per cent increase in Italy's exports in 1989 is hardly evidence of a declining share of overseas markets. Is his concern not, perhaps, principally motivated by this year's round of private sector pay bargaining, and is not the Gulf crisis a providential prod for stimulating trade union concern to avoid still higher inflation and employment losses?

More fundamentally, industrialists of all sizes and persuasions have spent the past two years trying to assess the implications of the European Community internal market and plan strategies for it. The result is a widespread fear that the successes of the 1980s may well be in peril in the 1990s.

Pessimists dwell on the modest dimensions of Italian companies (there are only four Italian groups in Fortune's top 100 world companies and only nine in the top 500 non-US industrial companies), their lack of international reach, the poor Italian record in research and development, dependence on imported technology, under-developed and inefficient financial services, stubbornly high domestic inflation and interest rates, to say nothing of woefully inefficient public services.

A final source of anxiety is public debt and the budget deficit, which will guarantee relatively high national interest rates for much of the 1990s. Of all Italian companies, Fiat, the largest, faces potentially one of the most serious tests after 1992. Though one of Europe's lowest-cost car producers, it is uncomfortably dependent on the Italian market, which accounted for 62 per cent of its car sales last year. Fiat's strong domestic position



THE EUROPEAN MARKET

is partly due to import restrictions, which have limited Japanese car-makers to less than 1 per cent of the market. Turin wants the EC to negotiate a lengthy transition period before the Japanese are allowed to move freely into Italy. But the company knows it must lose domestic market share to Japan, as it is now doing to other European producers. This year its home market share has slipped from around 60 per cent to 53.

Mr Cesare Romiti, Fiat's managing director, has looked deeper into the difficulties many of his companies have in competing with Japanese rivals and concluded that their

response must be wrapped around a concept of new practices and relationships at the workplace which he calls "total quality".

Gloom is a spur to achievement in Italy, where a "back to the wall" syndrome is frequently needed to forge the political and social consensus required to achieve real change. This is now producing encouraging progress in legislation for financial market and banking reforms specifically designed with the internal market in mind. But political blockages are still holding up a managerial reorganisation of state telecommunications and a long overdue reshuffling of public sector companies whose activities overlap, but which are parked in separate holding companies controlled by rival party political fiefdoms.

In big Italian industry, both public and private, it is possible to find much more confidence about the future than may be apparent from the anxious and weighty reports of Confindustria. There is rather more uncertainty in the small and medium-sized sector, which was the engine of employment and wealth creation in the 1980s but which now fears that its lack of size may be penalised in the future.

In private, however, a senior public sector manager said recently that there were no reasons to believe the mix of individual qualities, public policy and anomalous structures which had served Italy so well in the 1980s would fail to do so over the next 10 years.

Why, he observed, should Italian companies suddenly lose a capacity to export which over the past 20 years has enabled them to defend their share of world manufacturing trade more successfully than their German, French or British rivals? He also believed that that explained Italian industry's relative backwardness in forging international alliances. As successful exporters, many private companies have not felt the need for foreign partners, while state-owned groups have been discouraged from seeking them by the politically ordained priority of domestic job creation.

But the recent growth of cross-border mergers and acquisitions and joint ventures confirms that both reticence and restrictions are becoming less of an inhibition. That famous Italian flexibility which attaches more importance to pragmatism and speed of reaction than to forward planning may also be a positive virtue in forming international partnerships.

"Flexibility means we adapt to partnerships better and that we are much more prepared than our competitors to take minority participations," said the senior manager. He cited the many minority stakes in aerospace companies held by the state-owned Aeritalia (shortly to be re-named Alenia after combining with Selenia to create a more powerful international presence in aerospace and defence electronics).

He acknowledged that Italy's research and development weaknesses were serious but that the practical impact was not as grave as it might seem.

The proportion of gross national product dedicated to R&D may be smaller than say, the UK's, and the Italian capacity for creating new technologies correspondingly weaker. "But we have a significantly better capacity for applying and developing technology than does the UK. Innovation also requires managerial professionalism just as much as it does research," he added.

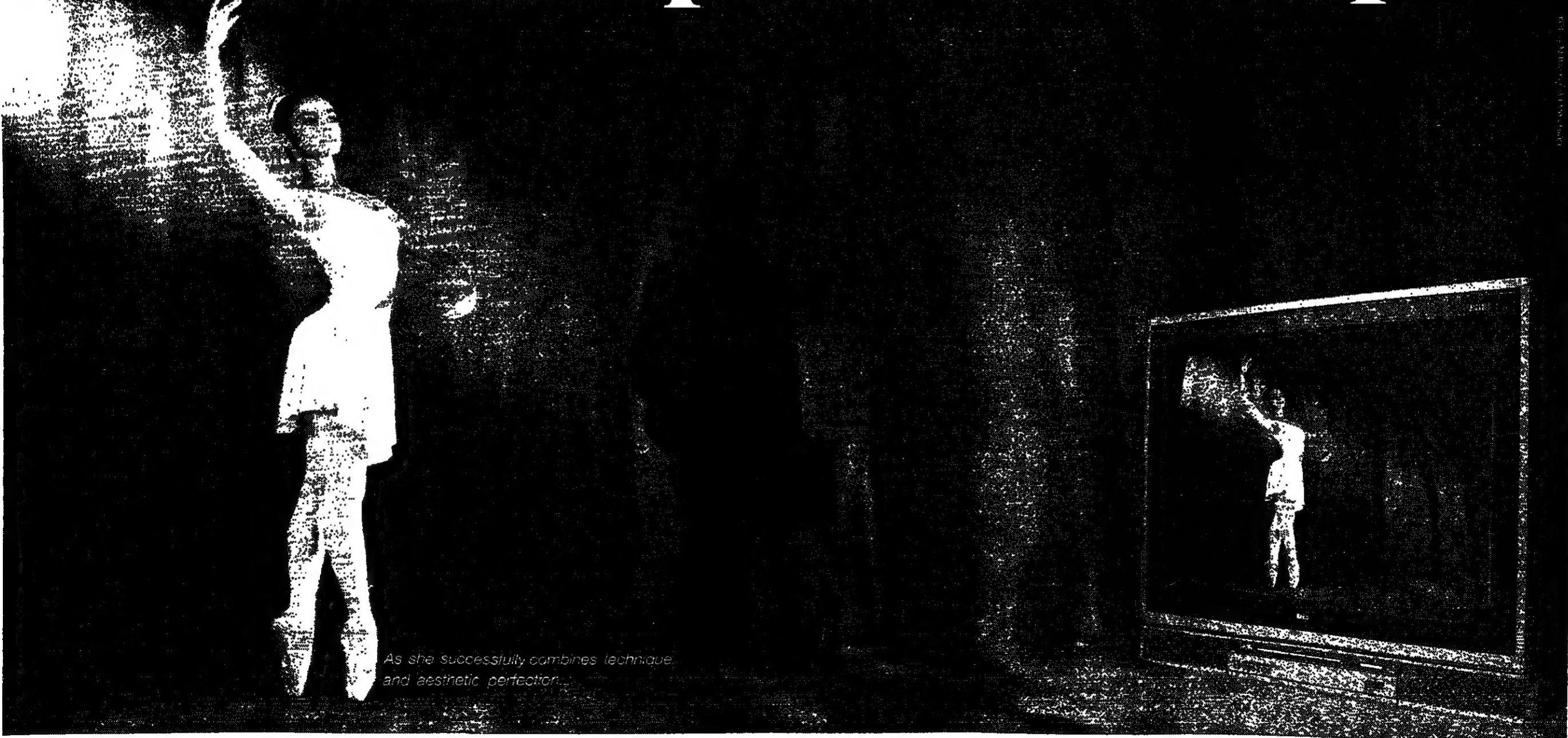
Many of these points have been amply supported by Professor Michael Porter of Harvard University in his book "The Competitive Advantage of Nations". It suggests that the abundance of small and

medium businesses competing for the domestic market is the basis of Italy's exporting vigour, that the biggest companies with a dominant market position are much less competitive and that the manufacturing sectors in which the state plays a major role as a producer, purchaser or supplier are the least competitive of all.

Prof Porter also believes Italy's lack of strong capital markets has held back the growth of many companies. This is hardly surprising given that most small business will pay 7 or 8 percentage points more for credit than does Fiat. According to a recent report from the Italian research institute CER, financing difficulties also help explain small companies' relative backwardness in applying new technologies.

All the evidence suggests, however, that the backwardness increases the further south you travel in Italy. The existence of "two nations" is probably the core of the industrial, economic and political problems facing the country in the 1990s. It takes real pessimism to believe the north will fall to prosper in more open markets. Unless, that is, the southern millstone imposes such costs in transfer payments as to steadily erode the north's competitive strength.

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## Province probes charges against Bhutto regime

By Farhan Bokhari in Lahore

PAKISTAN'S interim government yesterday took a further step against ousted Prime Minister Ms Benazir Bhutto when Mr Jam Sadiq Ali, the caretaker Chief Minister of Sindh Province said his government had started investigating 21 cases of alleged financial irregularities against Ms Bhutto's government.

This follows attempts by Pakistan's federal government to file charges against Ms Bhutto and her colleagues at 11 special courts established to hear allegations against the former government.

Mr Ali said in Islamabad that investigations had been completed in 16 of the cases, which were now being sent for prosecution.

Meanwhile, a special court in Lahore hearing allegations of misconduct against Ms Bhutto yesterday adjourned until Sunday to allow government prosecutors more time to produce further evidence in support of his case.

The prosecutor, Mr M.B. Zaman, began his arguments on Saturday, alleging that Ms Bhutto helped business inter-

ests close to her husband, Mr Asif Ali Zardari, to seek planning permission and land at reduced rates to build a hotel and golf course in Islamabad.

The proposed site in the widely publicised Lake View hotel case had been set aside for construction of a national athletics centre, the prosecutor said. He argued there was prima facie evidence that Ms Bhutto used her influence.

Repeatedly referring to the former Prime Minister as B.B., he cited documents from Islamabad's Capital Development Authority - the body which performs municipal functions and grants planning permission - in support of his argument that there was an attempt to rush the Lake View case through.

However, Judge Rashid Aziz said that he wanted further evidence, such as sworn affidavits from witnesses, to prove Ms Bhutto's involvement.

The prosecutor asked for a week-long adjournment until next Sunday. Earlier he said that he would produce statements as well as witnesses in support of his argument.

## Death climbs aboard as South Africa seeks refuge

Patti Waldmeir talks to a survivor of the Soweto train massacre who was hoping to reach sanctuary

MRS Anna Maleka thought she was on her way to safety when she boarded the 9pm train to Soweto last Thursday. Now she is lying in Ward 5 of the J.G. Strijdom Hospital in Johannesburg, with a stab wound which has punctured her lung and a bullet wound which, she thanks God, is not too serious.

"It's too much now. It's got to stop. We are dying for nothing," she whispers, an expression of pain and fear on the face which normally wears a gap-toothed smile.

Anna collects the post and does other odd jobs for the Financial Times and other foreign newspapers in Johannesburg; we know her as a cheerful, plump figure in a pink dust-coat, who never brings her troubles to the office.

Until recently, that is. For over the past month, Anna's life has turned to nightmare. Caught up in the worst violence South Africa has ever seen, she is confused and utterly terrified.

She does not belong to either of the two groups involved in much of the fighting which has left nearly 800 people dead since August 13 - the African National Congress (ANC) and Inkatha, the Zulu political party. Anna Maleka is a nor-

mal mother of two, working to support an unemployed husband and to better her life in Soweto.

But the carnage has touched her, none the less. Dozens of people have been killed at Naledi, the suburb of new homes on the edge of Soweto where Anna lives.

Unidentified men have sped through the township, shooting at random; police have teargassed residents, killing the Maleka family dog in the process. By last Thursday, Anna had had enough of sleepless nights and the sound of gunfire. She wanted a refuge.

Rosie, Anna's sister, lives at Mafolo - an older and poorer area of Soweto, but one untainted by the recent battles. When Anna left the office last Thursday, she was headed for Mafolo: "I said to myself, I am going to that safe place," she now says ruefully.

Anna and her fellow commuters on Naledi-bound train 9438 had just finished praying - as they do every night on the journey from work - when they heard shooting.

"We tried to hide under the seats," she explains; other passengers threw themselves from doors and windows. As they lay on the floor, four young men came through the carriage, stabbing at random.



Zulu headmen sing war songs in support of their king at a rally near Johannesburg yesterday

Anna, lying face down, did not see her attacker or his weapon; but, herself a Zulu, she is sure the gang were Zulus.

Several people in her carriage, including her neighbour, were killed in an attack which left 26 dead and over 100 wounded.

Anna was taken to the J.G. Strijdom hospital, a formerly white hospital where Afrikaans

is the lingua franca and the sisters are white. Like other white hospitals, it was fully opened to all races last May. "I'm so glad I'm not at Baragwanath," she says several times, filled with relief that she has avoided a stay at Africa's largest hospital, in Soweto, where the nurses are harassed and the care is adequate but unfriendly.

The sisters of Ward 5, on the other hand, are attentive and kind: they ease Anna's pain when they can do, and comfort her when they cannot. They are an advertisement for the new South Africa.

But the past few weeks have shown another side of the new South Africa: senselessly brutal, politically intolerant and riven by tribalism. Reasonable people fear the country could slip into civil war.

Anna says she does not know how to stop the violence, because she does not understand why it started in the first place. But she knows this is a precarious moment in the transition to a post-apartheid future.

She, and millions like her, can only hope that South Africa's leaders muster the political will to stop the killing. Unless they do, life in the new South Africa may prove grim indeed.

## Zambian miners back democracy

By Mike Hall in Kitwe

AN ESTIMATED 70,000 people attended a pro-democracy rally in the Zambian copper-mining town of Kitwe at the weekend, as leaders of the movement warned of mass action unless the government agreed to their demands.

Turnout at the third national rally organised by the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) showed substantial support on the copper belt, which accounts for over 90 per cent of the country's export earnings. Miners' leaders said they were fully behind the movement.

The MMD has gained confidence as the extent of popular support becomes clear. It says a referendum is unnecessary and demands that the constitution be changed before December to allow opposition parties to form.

Mr Frederick Chiluba, chairman of the Zambian Congress of Trade Unions, told supporters in Kitwe that if the government stalled on implementing reforms workers would demand tougher measures.

Political observers say that if the ruling party ignores demands by the pro-democracy movement, civil disturbances could ensue.

## Claims of fraud in Gabon poll

ANGRY voters alleging foul play smashed ballot boxes and closed Libreville's biggest polling station in Gabon's first multi-party election yesterday. Reuter reports from Libreville.

Polling officials fled and scores of young voters ransacked Libreville City Hall, where polling was taking place. Scores of voters said the boxes were already stuffed with ballot papers for President Omar Bongo's Democratic Party of Gabon (PDG). "I came here at 6am before voting started and when I went in the box was already full. Where did the ballots come from?" asked an enraged youth.

A candidate for the largest opposition group, the Morena Bouchereau party, said he saw a truck from the presidential guard bring people into the polling station before balloting started.

Bands of youths scooped up fistfuls of ballot material and scattered them in torrents across City Hall's lawn. The hulking hall still bears the scars of an earlier outbreak of trouble on Saturday, when frustrated would-be voters smashed its windows during a desperate scramble to beat the deadline for collecting their voting cards.

## More executions in Nigeria

A FURTHER 27 soldiers have been executed for their part in a failed coup attempt last April, bringing the number executed to 89 over the past seven weeks, writes William Keeling in Lagos.

The latest executions took place on Thursday but were not announced until the weekend. The executions followed a retrial ordered by the Armed Forces Ruling Council, Nigeria's executive body, of 31 soldiers. The executions were carried out despite appeals for clemency by the British gov-

ernment and Amnesty International, the London-based human rights organisation.

Concern had been expressed at the fairness of the trials by special military tribunal under which the soldiers were unable to choose their own defence counsel, and were not allowed a right of appeal, except to the military government.

Although no new trials are planned, at least 10 soldiers thought to have led the coup are still at large, as well as two civilians who are suspected of having financed the attempt.

### WORLD ECONOMIC INDICATORS

#### RETAIL PRICES (1985=100)

	Aug '90	Jul '90	Jun '90	Aug '89	% change over previous year
Japan	108.2	108.0	107.8	106.0	+ 3.0
W Germany	107.1	106.8	106.8	104.2	+ 2.8
UK	135.4	134.0	133.9	122.4	+ 10.6
France	117.0	116.3	116.0	113.0	+ 3.5
Belgium	111.5	110.7	110.5	107.8	+ 3.2
Netherlands	103.9	103.6	103.2	101.5	+ 2.4
	Jul '90	Jun '90	May '90	Jul '89	
US	121.2	120.8	120.1	116.6	+ 4.8

Source: (except US) Eurostat

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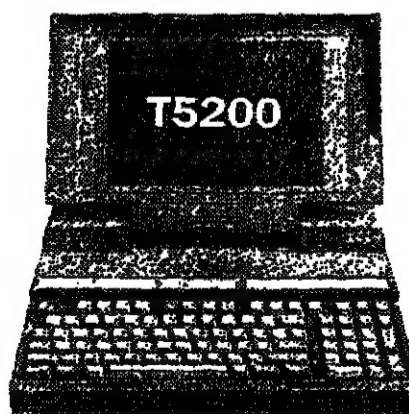
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## INTERNATIONAL NEWS

## Fears grow at Gatt talks over chances for liberalising services

By William Dullforce in Geneva

BUSINESSMEN and trade negotiators warned at the weekend of a critical situation in the international talks on liberalising the \$600bn-a-year trade in services.

Their warnings came as Mrs Carla Hills, the US Trade Representative, arrived in Geneva on a two-day visit to the forum of the flagging Uruguay Round trade talks.

Accompanied by members of the top-level US private sector advisory committee on trade policy and negotiations, headed by Mr Jim Robinson, chairman of American Express, she has come to assess the status of the talks, which encompass 14 other areas as well as services.

Private sector representatives from a coalition of service industries in the US, the European Community, the European Free Trade Association, Australia and Hong Kong voiced fears late on Friday that there might no longer be time to reach agreement on liberalisation of services before the Round ends in December.

The US and EC governments had still not taken basic political decisions on the scope of the agreement and on how it should function, they complained in a joint communiqué after they had spent two days talking to negotiators and officials of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

Negotiators confirmed that the lack of decision-making in Washington and Brussels was preventing delegations from making the initial commitments to liberalisation without which the framework

agreement under negotiation for four years would be meaningless.

The most urgently needed decision must come from Washington and concerns the coverage of the services agreement. Originally, the US called for a General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) embracing all services.

However, the US shipping and civil aviation industries, which can call on considerable support in Congress, wanted their sectors excluded from an international agreement.

Now, AT&T and other privately-owned US basic telephone networks, concerned about competition from subsidised foreign suppliers of public networks, are also pressing for exemption for telecommunications.

Other countries, some of which had earlier encountered US opposition to their wishes to retain protection for infant services, have reacted strongly to the change in the US position on coverage.

A paradoxical situation has arisen. For a long time developing countries resisted US pressure for negotiating a fully fledged GATS. Now that many of them are ready, even keen, to reach agreement, the US is retreating from its original objectives.

A formal meeting of the group negotiating on services starts today.

Talks also resume today on textiles and clothing, with the large majority of countries determined to negotiate a liberalising programme that would ignore the US proposal for a system of global import quotas.

## Mitterrand and Kohl to heal rift over high definition TV

By William Dawkins in Paris

FRANCE and West Germany are ready to patch up a rift which had threatened to undermine the credibility of the European Community's efforts to establish its high definition television (HDTV) standard against the rival Japanese system.

President François Mitterrand and Chancellor Helmut Kohl are expected to reach an accord to widen the use of D2-Mac, the EC's advanced television standard, at a summit in Munich today and tomorrow.

West German broadcasting companies alarmed the French last spring by threatening to use enhanced versions of existing standards instead of D2-Mac, the half-way step to full

HDTV. Bonn will now commit its broadcasting authorities to D2-Mac, say French officials.

In return, Mr Mitterrand is expected to promise that one of the two French public channels - Antenne 2, which has a 24 per cent audience share - will soon be broadcast in D2-Mac as well as in the existing norm, say government officials.

Bonn had wanted evidence of French commitment to D2-Mac before following suit. The only D2-Mac broadcast now available in France are a pay television channel and a culture programme transmitted via the TDF-1 public satellite by Canal Plus, an independent broadcaster.

This will remove a cloud from a joint FF20bn (£2bn) HDTV development project by Thomson Consumer Electronics (TCE), the French state-owned group, and Philips, the Dutch electronics giant, which is the main EC effort to beat Japan in the race for the European HDTV market.

Thomson had been worried that German backsliding would seriously hamper Europe's ability to gain widespread acceptance for D2-Mac and HD-Mac, the EC standard for full HDTV. Both standards are incompatible with the rival Japanese system.

TCE has pinned its hopes for the future on HDTV and is planning to bring out at the end of the year a FF30.000

advanced television set with a 16x9 ratio screen, able to receive the cinema quality pictures and compact disc clear sound carried on D2-Mac.

The French Government will ask Canal Plus to allow Antenne 2 to take over a TDF-1 channel which is now being used for Canal Plus broadcasts to Germany.

Canal Plus's German programmes would be transmitted on a German public satellite, TVSAT2. So Antenne 2 would be transmitted simultaneously in old standards on ground-based networks and in D2-Mac via satellite. The Government is planning to pay Antenne 2 an estimated FF150m for the cost of duplicating broadcasts.

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## Moscow talks hailed by Israel

By Hugh Carnegie in Jerusalem

ISRAELI officials yesterday expressed strong satisfaction over a milestone visit to Moscow at the weekend by two cabinet members, which included talks with President Mikhail Gorbachev, the first meeting between a Soviet leader and Israeli ministers for 23 years.

The Foreign Ministry described the previously unannounced trip, made on a Soviet invitation, by Mr Yitzhak Mordechai, the Finance Minister, and Mr Yuval Ne'eman, the Science and Energy Minister, as a big step forward in relations between the two countries.

Officials remained cautious about predicting an imminent restoration of full diplomatic relations, cut off by Moscow after the 1967 Six Day War. They said the Soviet Union apparently still insisted on attaching political conditions to such a move. One of these

would be that Israel agree to an international conference on the Arab-Israeli conflict.

But the government is greatly encouraged by the way Mr Gorbachev has moved to bridge the gap with Israel - and by the same token, has moved away from Arab allies hostile to Israel, particularly Iraq and, to a lesser extent, Syria.

Officials are now looking to a meeting at the UN later this month between Mr David Levy, the Foreign Minister, and Mr Eduard Shevardnadze, his Soviet counterpart, to further the process.

Mr Mordechai's and Mr Ne'eman's 24-hour talks with Mr Gorbachev included discussion of diplomatic ties, the Gulf crisis and the issue of mass immigration by Soviet Jews to Israel, as well as a range of mutual economic concerns.

These included a joint project, which also involves the

US, to build commercial cargo aircraft using Soviet bodies.

Moscow's wish for barter deals under which the Soviets would receive Israeli fresh fruit and vegetables, and the possibility of Israel importing Soviet oil.

Another project apparently covered was the sale to the Soviets of portable plastic vacuum crop storage units developed by an Israeli kibbutz collective.

The Tel Aviv Stock Exchange was closed yesterday, normally a trading day, to give members time to seek clarification of a new 20 per cent tax on profits made in the market announced as part of an economic regeneration plan by Mr Mordechai last week.

The economic proposals included reforms of the labour and capital markets and were designed to generate sufficient private sector growth to cope with a huge influx of Soviet Jewish immigrants.

## Buenos Aires telephone workers end bitter strike

By John Barham in Buenos Aires

BUENOS AIRES telephone workers called an end to their increasingly bitter strike at the weekend after a rowdy assembly conceded almost total victory to the Peronist government of President Carlos Menem which had refused to negotiate with the strikers.

The 14-day strike was seen as a last-ditch effort to interfere with the privatisation of ENTel, the government telephone company, later this month.

President Menem plans to privatise most of Argentina's chaotic and overstaffed state companies, which together lost \$5.5bn in 1989.

The telephone workers' union struck on September 1 to support a claim for a 35 per cent pay increase. The strike rapidly grew into a confrontation between the hardline Peronist faction opposed to the

president's privatisation policies and ENTel's non-Peronist administrator, Ms Maria Julia Alsogaray.

Ms Alsogaray has presided over ENTel's privatisation, which should be complete by the end of this month with its transfer to two groups of foreign banks led by Citibank and Manufacturers Hanover.

The sale of ENTel will be President Menem's first major privatisation since he took office last year.

Last month, Mr Nicolas Gallo, the former president of ENTel, resigned after telephone workers joined a wave of strikes in the public sector.

Aerolineas Argentina, the state-owned airline, is to be sold later this year to a consortium led by Iberia, the Spanish airline, and the owners of Austral, Argentina's largest domestic carrier.

## US growth 'positive' Brady says

By Peter Riddell, US Editor in Washington

THE US economy should avoid a recession and still show positive growth, Mr Nicholas Brady, the US Treasury Secretary, forecast yesterday.

He was speaking as senior Administration officials and Congressional leaders resumed their 10 day long budget talks at Andrews Air Force Base south of Washington with a new deadline of reaching agreement by midnight tonight.

The Administration hopes that an agreement will quickly be followed by Federal Reserve moves to cut US interest rates and help sustain economic activity.

Mr Brady said that, while the economy was growing at a slower rate than the usual 3.5 per cent annual rate of the first half of this year, its "underlying strength" was greater than suggested by many economists.

He confirmed the latest estimate of the Federal deficit for the coming 1991 fiscal year was \$250bn and that the budget negotiators were agreed on a first year reduction of \$50bn as the first part of a \$500bn five year cut. The Gramm-Rudman statutory targets for reducing the deficit, to \$64bn in 1991, will be changed.

Before the resumption of talks yesterday, Mr Tom Foley, the Democratic House Speaker, said that by tonight there might well be an agreement. To concentrate minds and avoid returning to Capitol Hill, Congressional leaders have agreed to suspend votes in the Senate and House until the talks are completed.

One of the main obstacles to a deal is the Administration's desire for a cut in capital gains tax and the Democrats' call for offsetting tax increases on the better-off. Mr Foley urged "a balancing of burden-sharing by high-income, wealthy taxpayers who are going to get the bulk of the benefit of any capital gains tax reduction."

## Suharto critic released from jail in Indonesia

A CROWD of 1,000 greeted one of Indonesia's leading dissidents, Hartono Dharsono, when he was freed yesterday after more than five years in jail on subversion charges. Reuter reports from Jakarta.

Students sang patriotic songs and some shouted "merdeka" (freedom) as the 65-year-old general was whisked away from prison with his family in a police-escorted conveyer.

Dharsono, a former secretary general of the Association of South East Asian Nations, was an outspoken critic of President Suharto. He was arrested at the end of 1984 and slightly more than a year later, after one of Indonesia's most keenly watched trials, he was convicted of fuelling anti-government sentiment.

He was released, for good behaviour, before the end of his seven-year sentence. One human rights activist said Dharsono's views had not softened during his time in jail but it was not known if he

would return to the political arena.

Among bouquets of flowers given to him was one with the message: "Congratulations to our new president."

Dharsono was met by members of a dissident group of prominent Indonesians, many of them former generals and cabinet ministers, who last month called on President Suharto to allow more democracy and to step down when his current five-year term ends in 1993.

The President next month celebrates the 25th anniversary of the crushing of an abortive coup attempt in 1965 that resulted in annihilation of what was then the world's third-largest Communist party and his own rise to power.

The government has since kept a tight rein on political expression and moved swiftly to stamp out signs of opposition. But in recent weeks it appears to have been encouraging more open expression.

## CONTRACTS &amp; TENDERS

## PREQUALIFICATION EDICT DESIGN AND CONSTRUCTION WORK FOR THE LPG COMPLEX AT RIO GRANDE/RS

PETROBRAS, through its Engineering Service (SEGEN), hereby informs that it shall conduct an international process of prequalification for companies interested in performing design detailing, construction and assembly work, with supply of materials and equipment, for its LPG COMPLEX at Rio Grande, a coastal city in the State of Rio Grande do Sul.

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PETROBRAS/SEGEN  
Telex No. 40491 PETR BR

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Said telex shall include the interested company's full address, for purposes of receiving the above mentioned documentation.

PETROBRAS hereby informs that participation in this prequalification shall not assure a future invitation to participate in the Price Inquiry.

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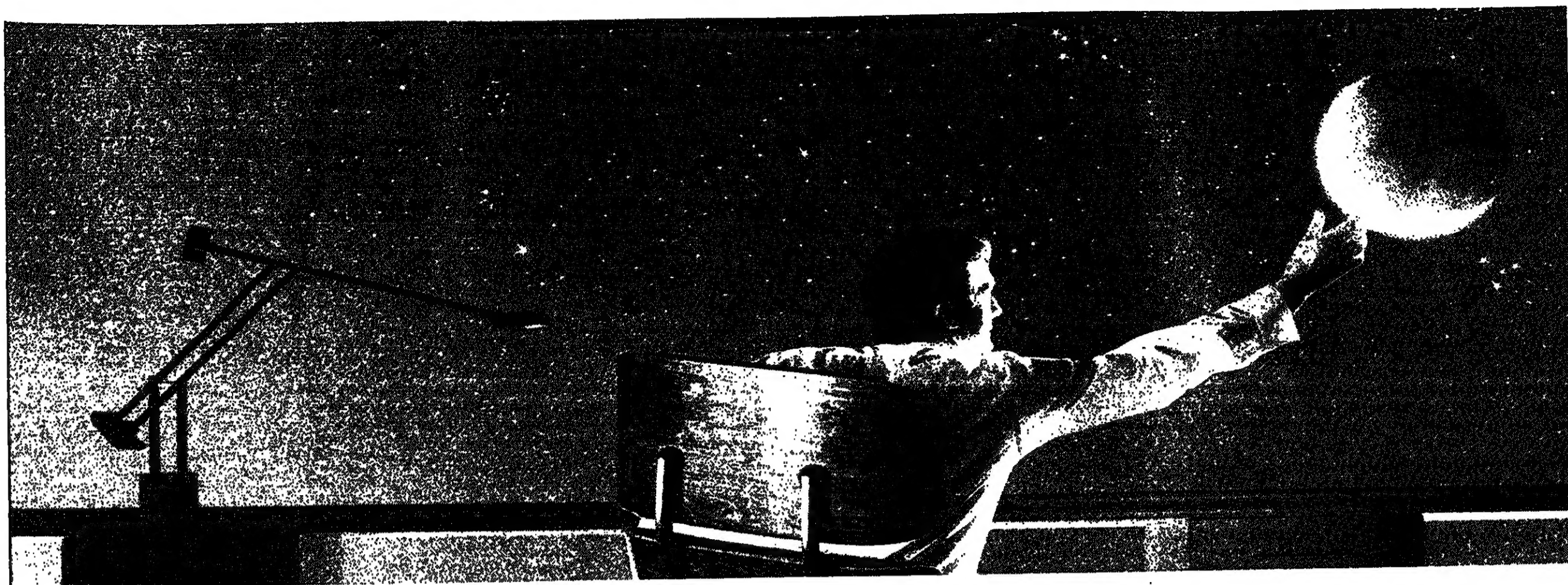
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## UK NEWS

## Hunt for policeman kidnapped by IRA

By Our Belfast Correspondent

SECURITY FORCES on both sides of the Irish border were last night searching for a policeman kidnapped by the IRA at an illegal roadblock in South Armagh.

Constable Louis Robinson, aged 42, who has been on sick leave for three years because of severe depression, was abducted by up to 12 armed and masked terrorists, who set up the checkpoint near the main customs post at Killeen.

The kidnapping happened around 7.30pm on Saturday, as PC Robinson and five prison officers were returning from a fishing trip in the Irish Republic. As their minibus was stopped by the terrorists, three of the prison officers escaped. The other two were captured and severely beaten before being released.

Security forces immediately sealed off a stretch of the border at Killeen as an extensive search got under way. But there was still no sign of the police officer last night.

PC Robinson's wife, Anne, made an emotional appeal for his life and called on his abductors to release him because he was a sick man.

There was speculation that because the officer had been on long-term sick leave he would be of no intelligence value to the IRA.

## Tory group proposes replacing welfare state

By John Mason and Philip Stephens

THE WELFARE state should be replaced by a system of social insurance run by private agencies, an influential right-wing Tory pressure group proposes.

In a policy booklet intended to increase the radical content of the next Conservative election manifesto, the No Turning Back Group of Tory MPs also calls for further privatisations, but strongly rejects further developments towards a federal Europe.

The policy proposals, published today, are an attempt to counter calls within the party for a future Tory government to slow the pace of change and consolidate upon previous reforms.

Reports of the booklet's contents provoked an immediate political row, with Labour claiming they marked Mrs Margaret Thatcher's "hidden agenda" if she won a fourth term in office.

Some Tory MPs also voiced disquiet that the group, which counts among its members one Cabinet member and a dozen middle-ranking and junior ministers, was trying to pre-empt decisions on the manifesto.

Although they represent only a small minority of the parliamentary party, the No Turning Back MPs are thought to exercise considerable influence within Downing Street, and have good contacts with Mrs Thatcher's policy unit.

Ministers, however, will be at pains to emphasise that the proposals on the welfare state, in particular, are potentially far too unpopular to be included in the manifesto.

The group's most radical suggestion is the gradual replacement of the welfare state with a privately managed insurance system under which individuals would be required to insure themselves for old age, sickness and unemployment.

Those unable to meet insurance premiums would pay through compulsory participation in a state-run community work scheme.

The group also supports the Prime Minister's opposition to a federal Europe. It rejects surrendering fur-

ther political power to the European Community, warning that the House of Commons must not decline into a "glorified county council."

Britain signed the Single European Act only to enable the single market to be created, it argues. The Government should "draw a line" under the act once the single market is in place, and use its veto to resist further directives that impose on internal affairs.

The group firmly rejects a European single currency and central bank. Should other EC member states proceed towards monetary union, Britain should remain outside and develop as "a kind of free port" linking Europe with the rest of the world. It also expresses strong reserva-

tions about Britain's entering the exchange-rate mechanism of the European Monetary System, warning of "much danger" in shackling national currencies so they cannot conform to market principles.

The group demands the continuation of the Government's privatisation programme and lists British Coal, London Underground, and British Rail's Inter-City, freight and parcels services as the next candidates.

New motorways could be built by the private sector, financed by the introduction of road pricing.

*Choice and Responsibility - The Enabling State. The No Turning Back Group, Conservative Political Centre, 32, Smith Square, London SW1 5J.*

## Survey gives awards to BA and Virgin

By Raymond Snoddy

BRITISH Airways and Virgin Atlantic have won the top awards for the third consecutive time in the annual survey by Business Traveller magazine.

BA won the title of Best Airline with 28 per cent of 1,400 travellers putting it first. Lord King, BA chairman, said the award reflected the "recognition and the loyalty business travellers have for our services worldwide."

Swire was second and Singapore International Airlines third.

Mr Richard Branson's Virgin Atlantic was voted best in the long-haul business class.



Lord King: award recognises loyalty of business travellers

## Labour power plan threatens sector profits, broker warns

By David Thomas, Resources Editor

THE FINANCIAL performance of the electricity industry in the private sector could be significantly affected if Labour Party policy was implemented, according to a report from Cazenove, the stockbrokers.

Cazenove is one of the joint brokers to the 12 regional electricity companies in England and Wales which are due to be privatised in November.

The company has published a research document on the industry, pointing out that Labour Party policy is to return to some form of public ownership the National Grid Company (NGC), which will be responsible for running the national transmission network and is to be jointly owned by the 12 regional companies after privatisation.

Cazenove warns that "NGC

plays a central role in the electricity supply industry and, if it becomes subject to public-sector control, then the development of the generating companies (National Power and PowerGen) and the regional electricity companies could be significantly affected."

In particular, public ownership of NGC might affect the dividends it pays to the regional companies and the changes it levies on the generating companies.

Cazenove says the regional electricity companies' profits are vulnerable to falls in electricity demand, caused by factors such as economic downturns, unusually mild weather, moves by large industrial customers towards generating their own power, and improved energy efficiency.

It estimates that a 1 per cent change in demand will lead to just under a 4 per cent change in pre-tax profits for the industry as a whole.

Nevertheless, Cazenove concludes that the regional companies' core distribution business "represents a low-risk, stable activity."

By contrast, UBS Phillips & Drew and Laming and Crutchshank, two of the few large City firms not linked as brokers to the electricity companies, have both warned that regional electricity companies could be subject to significant risks in the future. They have argued that the companies need to be floated with a high yield to compensate for such risks.

Teesside power station proposal, Page 19

## Euro-MPs warn of single-market risk

By John Mason

A STRONGER European industrial, regional and social policy must be developed alongside the creation of the single market, British Labour Euro-MPs argue in a report published today.

Left to itself, the single market will favour economically strong areas within the EC at the expense of weaker, peripheral areas, many of which are in Britain, the MEPs say in their report.

"It is essential that development of the single market does not compound regional inequalities, causing massive emigration from poorer regions and inefficient overhauling in richer regions," the report says.

Without a strengthened European industrial policy, Britain

as a whole risked becoming a backward region within the community.

The MEPs call for greater use of EC structural funds to promote industrial development and modernisation, including education, training, transport and telecommunications, in the regions.

The education strategy should promote the development of highly skilled workforces in the peripheral areas.

That should be part of an industrial strategy based upon the production of high-technology goods as distinct from merely cutting labour costs.

The cost of the strategy should be met by scaling down the Common Agricultural Policy and addressing overproduction

of food, the MEPs say. The CAP should be replaced by a European Good Food policy, aimed at serving the interests of consumers.

The MEPs also emphasise the need for full implementation of the existing Social Charter and call for a "stage two" of the charter to extend employee protection.

That would bring protection to groups such as pensioners, and guarantee a minimum income. It would also extend employee rights to cover consultation about a company's plans, particularly regarding issues such as takeovers and mergers.

*The New Europe. European Parliamentary Labour Party, 2 Queen Anne's Gate, London SW1.*

## Party looks at fresh structure for London

By Ralph Atkins

A SENIOR Labour Party committee is expected to approve today a restructuring of the party in London after its weak showing there in the May local elections.

A review by Mr Larry Whitty, Labour's general secretary, has concluded that large-scale organisational changes are needed if the capital is not to hold back the party at the next general election.

The report follows widespread concern within the party that action should be taken to correct Labour's poor image in London.

In May, the swing to Labour was about 5 per cent in London, compared with 11 per cent at the national level. The party lost control of Brent and Ealing councils and failed to take either Westminster or Wandsworth from the Conservatives.

## Universities raise more private cash

By Norma Cohen, Education Correspondent

BRITISH universities have been increasingly successful in raising money from non-government sources over the past five years, according to the Universities' Funding Council, the quasi-public body that oversees universities.

Statistics published today in the UFC's Universities Statistical Record show that between 1985 and 1989, income received by them from all sources rose far faster than that from the Exchequer alone.

The percentage of university income provided by the Exchequer fell from 59

per cent in 1985 to 53 per cent in 1989. A similar trend also emerged in government and private-sector research grants over the same period. In 1989, the state provided half of all research funds, against 60 per cent five years earlier.

The main increase in research funding came from UK-based charitable bodies and overseas sources such as the EC. The sum from private industry also doubled over the past five years, to £28m in 1989.

Oxford University obtained £7.22m of its budget (5.5 per cent) from endow-

ments, donations and subventions in 1989, while Cambridge raised £2.45m - or only 3.4 per cent of its budget.

Among those more successful than Cambridge was Nottingham, which raised 4 per cent of its budget from endowments, while Durham was able to raise 2.5 per cent of its budget in that way.

Oxford and Cambridge remain less dependent than most universities on Exchequer funds as a percentage of income, receiving 43.6 and 48.3 per cent from that source in 1989.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

## Call to curb police calls on press

**RULES ON** police requisitioning of pictures and notes from journalists for use in criminal prosecutions need to be tightened, according to a new study for the British Executive of the International Press Institute.

Mr John Wilson, controller of editorial policy at the BBC, says that police demands for journalistic material of everything from football violence to poll tax riots have become increasingly frequent.

"Journalists in Britain are being required too often and too readily to serve the purpose of law enforcement in a stressed and divided society," Mr Wilson argues in the discussion paper.

## Airports warning

THE UK aviation industry is in danger of losing out because of inadequate airport and air-space capacity as Europe's centre of gravity moves east, a study by Touche Ross, management consultants, released yesterday warns.

The report indicates that air passenger volumes to and from eastern Europe are expected to increase between four and six-fold by the year 2005.

Touche Ross also forecasts in a separate study that £500m (£250m) will be invested in eastern Europe over the next five years.

## Prison reform call

FAR-REACHING reforms of the prison system were proposed by the Penal Affairs Consortium, a body made up of 18 organisations concerned with penal affairs.

The proposals, submitted to Lord Justice Woolf's inquiry into prison disturbances, include a code of minimum standards for prisons, statutory requirements governing prisoners' work, training and preparation for release, a separate staffing ratio, a prison ombudsman, an overhaul of the prison disciplinary system and tighter restrictions on the courts' power to imprison.

## Chemicals buy-out

GELPKO AND Bate Processing, a chemicals recycling business employing 65 people in Sunderland, in north-east England and 52 in Rye, East Sussex, has been bought by its management for £10m and will trade as Chemical Manufacturing and Refining (CMR).

The buy-out has been led by Mr George Bingham, CMR's managing director, supported by four senior managers. The investment syndicate was led by investors in Industry (3), the capital provider owned by the clearing banks and the Bank of England. CMR clients include ICI and Ciba Geigy.

## Trade bodies merge

THE TRADE associations representing the UK electronics and telecommunications industries are to merge later this week with a view to speaking with a single voice on policy questions.

The two groups are the Electronics and Business Equipment Association and the Telecommunications Engineering and Manufacturing Association.

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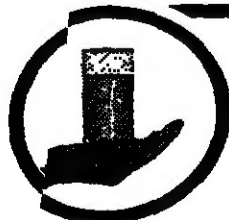


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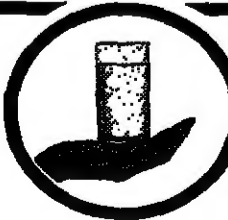
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## UK NEWS

# Low profits and failures predicted for retailers

By John Thornhill

TRADING conditions for UK retailers will continue to deteriorate over the next few years and the sector will be characterised by a string of dispiriting company results and corporate collapses, according to a new forecast by Verdict, the retail consultants.

Squeezed between slower rates of sales growth and rising costs, many retailers will face downward pressure on profit margins until 1993.

Even after interest rates have been reduced and trading picks up, companies will still struggle to rebuild their businesses and restore profits.

Verdict estimates that during the next five years retail sales will grow by 44.8 per cent to £178bn by 1994. That compares with a 52.5 per cent increase to £123bn during the previous five years.

The report suggests that on a like-for-like basis, sales

growth will be 8.1 per cent during the next five years compared with a 13.9 per cent rise in the previous period.

Operating costs, however, are predicted to rise at well in excess of the rate of inflation.

The uniform business rate is expected to increase the average national retailer's rates bill by about 15 per cent a year. Many retailers will still have to meet high rents, which are reviewed only every five years. Labour costs will remain high.

The report suggests that the only way to combat the vicious cycle of escalating costs is to improve productivity and generate more business from existing space and staff.

Verdict identifies Marks and Spencer, the John Lewis Partnership, and Argos as particularly strong organisations in that regard.

The consultants emphasise

that the gloomy scenario does not apply equally to all areas of the retailing sector nor to all retailing companies.

The DIY, womenswear and jewellery markets will grow strongly, they forecast, and the food sector will continue to prove resilient.

Verdict suggests that the gap between Sainsbury's, Tesco and Argyl Group and their smaller competitors will continue to widen and the progress of such national grocery chains is unlikely to be hindered by the rise of the discount chains.

The economic consequences of the Gulf crisis will be very damaging to British retailing if they are prolonged, but the report has based its calculations on the assumption that the effects will be short-lived.

Verdict 1994. Verdict Research, 112 High Holborn, London. WC1V 6JS. Price £350.

## Merchant navy opens publicity campaign

By Richard Tomkins, Transport Correspondent

BRITAIN's much shrunken shipping industry yesterday launched a month-long campaign to publicise its contribution to the economy and draw attention to its plight.

Sir Jeffrey Sterling, chairman of the Peninsular & Oriental Steam Navigation Company and president of the General Council of British Shipping, told about 250 guests aboard the SS Canberra at Southampton that the merchant fleet was a vital national asset.

The industry also had a strategic role to play in support of the armed services which needed no emphasis in the context of the Gulf crisis, he said.

The campaign, called British Shipping Month, is intended to help reverse a decline in the British merchant fleet, which has seen the number of UK mainland-registered vessels dwindle from 1,275 to 361 over the past decade.

Two of the main reasons for the decline are the wide availability of tax breaks for shipping companies in competing countries and the trend towards the "flagging out" of vessels to offshore registers or to countries such as Liberia.

The industry hopes to persuade the Government to encourage investment in new ships by tax concessions enabling the cost of vessels to be written off against profits.

It is also eagerly awaiting the Government's response to a special report on the shipping industry's plight submitted on Friday to Mr Cecil Parkinson, Transport Secretary.

The shipping industry says the merchant fleet needs to be sustained because of its essential role in transporting supplies in emergencies, but opponents of subsidies say chartering on the open market is an adequate substitute.

The Gulf crisis may prove a test of the arguments after last week's decision to send armaments to Saudi Arabia.

Editorial Comment, Page 18

## Call for depression to cure inflation

By Peter Norman, Economics Correspondent

THE GOVERNMENT was given a stark warning yesterday that it will not be possible to cure inflation in Britain without a depression.

Sir Charles Carter, an economist and president of the independent Policy Studies Institute, said inflation would not be checked if the Government also pursued an objective of keeping output rising and unemployment low.

"The many column inches in the press which have suggested that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should seek to sedate the economy without pushing it into depression have been misdirected," he said.

"Creating a depression - with all its waste of potential output and social injustice - is the only policy likely to be effective in checking the inflationary spiral."

He said that inflation would only be checked when employers and workers were afraid to pursue restoration of their real incomes because of growing unemployment, bankruptcies and depression of trade.

Last Friday, the Government announced that the annual inflation rate in August had risen to 3 per cent, its highest level since February 1982.

Writing in Policy Studies, the institute's quarterly journal, Sir Charles said that a UK inflation rate of 2 or 3 per cent should be a matter of concern in the 1990s. One of 6 to 10 per cent should "call for grave concern" and control of inflation to be the first objective of economic policy.

A rate of 15 to 20 per cent would, he said, be "a disaster requiring crisis measures."

Sir Charles said that full UK membership of the European Monetary System would not spare Britain a depression to cure inflation. However, the European constraint could be "of great value" in preventing inflation from rising again after it had been brought down to reasonable levels.

He also suggested a range of measures to overcome inflation, including:

- Penal taxation of fringe benefits because they could be a concealed form of inflation.
- Making state aid or government contracts conditional on companies having a non-inflationary business plan.
- Pay methods in the public sector to give clearer incentives to improved productivity.

Policy Studies, Autumn 1990. PSI, 100 Park Village East, London NW1 8SE. £9.95.

## Counting costs of a uniform rate

Ian Hamilton Fazey identifies the gainer and losers of a new system

THE MAJORITY of businesses in England and Wales will pay less in rates next year, even though inflation will push rates bills up for many businesses in London, the south-east, the south-west and East Angles by up to 32 per cent.

That is because of the continuing phasing-in of the national uniform business rate, introduced this year at the same time that commercial properties were revalued.

The uniform business rate - at present 34.8p in the pound - will rise with inflation, but the Government has yet to decide whether to give businesses in previously overvalued offices and factories - mainly in the north and midlands - reductions of 13 per cent or 15 per cent as part of the phasing.

Either way, they will pay less than this year.

The new rating system was introduced along with the first revaluation of commercial property for 15 years. In general, non-factory rateable values rose in the south but fell in the north and midlands because of regional differences in economic performance since 1974.

Phasing was designed as a self-financing system, cushioning the south against rapid increases in rates bills by limiting the fall in the amount paid by the gainers.

Latest government figures

	BUSINESS RATES PAID				
	RISE/FALL FROM 1989-90 TO 1990-91 (£m)				
	shops	offices	factories	hotels	total
North	-19.82	-16.75	-88.33	2.18	-121.84
Yor & Hum	-10.30	-25.69	-106.40	4.08	-128.31
E Mide	-1.51	-12.89	-91.10	3.94	-88.34
E Anglia	27.29	2.27	-12.91	3.43	20.08
Inner Lon	247.74	388.78	4.82	62.90	675.30
Outer Lon	58.00	2.11	-47.80	5.98	25.69
Rest SE	70.79	123.59	-57.20	20.02	247.39
S West	58.94	13.03	-27.97	8.20	62.02
W Mids	-35.44	-25.10	-176.81	5.58	-227.94
N West	-48.84	-59.14	-182.21	4.71	-285.47
Total	458.15	391.21	-795.91	120.48	25.13

Source: Department of the Environment

show that total rates paid by manufacturers fell everywhere except in inner London. Rates for shops and offices also fell in the north-west, the West Midlands, the Yorkshire area and Humberside, the East Midlands and the northern economic region, which comprises the north-east and Cumbria.

The dividing line between gainers and losers runs roughly from the Bristol Channel in the west to the Wash in the east.

South of it, non-manufacturers paid about £1bn more in rates, while those north of it paid £854m less.

The north-west and West Midlands gained most. As the two biggest regions outside London, with a combined population of nearly 12m, both have large numbers of old factories and both saw severe falls in property values during the

1980-82 recession. The change represents a shift in taxation of business from north to south of £854m in the current financial year.

Business leaders in the north and midlands argue that they were formerly in net subsidising businesses in the south.

The Government refusing to change its formula, calculating increases, which bases inflation on the 10.8 per cent retail price index, is sure to announce last week.

Next year, those paying more will have their year's bill increased by up to 20 per cent for phasing and by 10.8 per cent on top inflation.

For gainers, this year's rises by 10.8 per cent, account for inflation, then a by up to 13 or 15 per cent

Those in premises with a rateable value of less than £10,000 will get bigger reductions.

The figures also show that the national business rates bill of more than £10bn rose by £175m in spite of the Government's insistence that it was not trying to increase the aggregate burden on business.

Mr Michael Postlethwaite, a partner of Matthews Goodman, chartered surveyors, who speaks for the Association of British Chambers of Commerce, says the £175m figure is what would be expected from normal growth of the stock of business premises.

The figures for this year may have to be revised because of appeals against revaluations, which have to be lodged by September 30.

Successful appeals will result in refunds of overpayments with interest.

One type of "business premises" saved from closure by phasing is the public lavatory. Most of those are owned by local authorities and they have been revalued upwards everywhere.

Mr Postlethwaite said their average rateable value had increased twentyfold, from about £100 each to £2,000, pushing average rates payable on each from £24.80 to £696. Phasing had kept the increase down to about £10 this year. On that basis, next year's increase will average about £14.40.

## National Savings growth slips

By Philip Coggan

NATIONAL SAVINGS raised a net £114m for the Government's coffers in August, a downturn on the £207m raised in July.

However, the summer months still represented a considerable improvement on a long period in 1989 and early 1990 when withdrawals exceeded deposits.

The main area of current investor interest is the fifth issue of index-linked certificates which offer a tax-free return if held for five years, although the rates are very much lower if savers cash in early.

The fifth issue raised £197m in August. However, investors have been cashing in earlier issues of fixed-interest certificates.

The total invested in National Savings at the end of August stood at £36.8bn, still well down on the £36.8bn outstanding at the end of May 1989.

## Gulf crisis is threat to tax cuts, Thatcher says

By our Economics Staff

THE CRISIS in the Gulf has put a new obstacle in the way of the Government's stated aim of reducing the basic rate of income tax from 25p to 20p in the pound.

Mrs Margaret Thatcher, the Prime Minister, acknowledged in an interview with the newspaper Scotland on Sunday that the 20p target was threatened by the cost of Britain's military contribution to the defence of Saudi Arabia.

In reply to the question whether the 20p target was possible before the next election, or whether it would have to wait, she said: "One cannot quite answer that question until we know the effect of the Gulf crisis and of getting all the forces there and whether sanctions work and how soon it will be over. But, with the increased outgoings that we are having to face now, obviously we should not dream of reducing income tax until it's prudent to do so and it would be damaging if we did reduce it before it was wise to do so."

MRS Margaret Thatcher was warned last night by Mr Paddy Ashdown, the Liberal Democrat leader, not to use the Gulf crisis to hide the failure of her domestic policies.

Speaking at the Liberal Democrats' annual conference in Blackpool, Mr Ashdown said: "The Prime Minister's duty in this crisis is clear. It is to speak for the nation and not for the narrow interests of the Tory Party."

Although Mr John Major, the Chancellor, reaffirmed the 20p target in his Budget speech last March, Britain's high inflation and rising public expenditure have since reduced the Government's scope for tax cuts.

Yesterday, however, Mrs Thatcher said that a basic rate of tax of 20p was the Government's "ultimate objective and we have not abandoned it."



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# FIDELITY WORLD FUND

## Société d'Investissement à Capital Variable

33, Boulevard Prince Henri  
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### NOTICE OF ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Notice is hereby given that the Annual General Meeting of the Shareholders of FIDELITY WORLD FUND, a société d'investissement à capital variable organised under the laws of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg (the "Fund"), will be held at the registered office of the Fund, 33, Boulevard Prince Henri, L-1724 Luxembourg, at 11:00 a.m. on September 25, 1990, specifically, but without limitation, for the following purposes:

1. Presentation of the Report of the Board of Directors.
2. Presentation of the Report of the Auditor.
3. Approval of the balance sheet and income statement for the fiscal year ended May 31, 1990.
4. Discharge of the Board of Directors and the Auditor.
5. Ratification of the co-optation of Charles T. M. Collis as a Director of the Fund in replacement of John M. S. Patton.
6. Election of six (6) Directors, specifically the re-election of the following six (6) present Directors: Messrs. Edward C. Johnson 3d, Charles T. M. Collis, Charles A. Fraser, Jean Hamill, Harry G. A. Seggerman and H. F. van den Hoven, being all of the present Directors except William L. Byrnes who by reason of his retirement does not offer himself for re-election.
7. Election of the Auditor, specifically the election of Coopers & Lybrand, Luxembourg.
8. Declaration of cash dividend in respect of the fiscal year ended May 31, 1990, and authorisation of the Board of Directors to declare further dividends in respect of fiscal year 1990 if necessary to enable the Fund to qualify for "distributor" status under United Kingdom tax law.
9. Consideration of such other business as may properly come before the meeting.

Approval of the above items of the agenda will require the affirmative vote of a majority of the shares present or represented at the meeting with no minimum number of shares present or represented in order for a quorum to be present.

Subject to the limitations imposed by the Articles of Incorporation of the Fund with regard to ownership of shares which constitute in the aggregate more than three percent (3%) of the outstanding shares, each share is entitled to one vote. A shareholder may act at any meeting by proxy.

Dated: August 28, 1990.

BY ORDER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS



Following the DIVIDEND DECLARATION by the Company on 12 July 1990 NOTICE is now given that the following DISTRIBUTION will become payable on or after 17 September 1990.

Gross Distribution per unit	1.7500 cents
Less 15% USA Withholding Tax	0.5625 cents
	1.1875 cents
Converted at \$1.9225	\$0.01857987

Claims should be lodged with the DEPOSITORY: National Westminster Bank PLC, Stock Office Services, Third Floor, 20 Old Broad Street, London EC2, on special forms obtainable from their Office.

United Kingdom Banks and Members of the Stock Exchange should mark payment of the dividend in the appropriate square on the reverse of the certificate.

All other claimants must complete the special form and present this at the above address together with the certificate (s) for marking by the National Westminster Bank PLC. Postal applications cannot be accepted.

Date: 17 September 1990

## UK NEWS

# Liberal Democrats set out price of support

By Philip Stephens, Political Editor, in Blackpool

MR PADDY ASHDOWN, the Liberal Democrat leader, singled out the removal of Mrs Margaret Thatcher from office and a commitment to electoral reform as the price of Liberal Democrat support for a minority Government after the next general election.

Speaking at the start of the party's annual conference at Blackpool, Mr Ashdown appeared to acknowledge that the best he could hope for in the election due by mid-1992 was to hold the balance of power in a "hung parliament", when there is no clear majority.

With the party's support in recent opinion polls hovering just below 10 per cent, the conference is seen as its last significant opportunity to re-establish its claim to remain a powerful third force in British politics after the traumas which followed the breakup of the Liberal-SDP Alliance.

In a series of press conferences and media interviews, Mr Ashdown stressed repeatedly that the first objective at the election had to be the end of "Thatcherism".

That left open the possibility that the Liberal Democrats would co-operate with a minority Conservative government

led by someone else or with a minority Labour administration.

Mr Ashdown refused to be drawn in advance of the election on the precise terms he would demand for any such co-operation. But he acknowledged that electoral reform - specifically the replacement of the present "first-past-the-post" system with proportional representation - was at the top of his list.

"Whatever power we have after the next election will be used to ensure that this country will never again have to vote on the basis of our present corrupt and distorted electoral system," he told a rally last night.

Despite the party's poor showing in the opinion polls, the mood of many delegates was surprisingly upbeat. The demise earlier this year of Dr David Owen's Social Democrats was seen as offering the possibility the party would at least recapture some ground in the centre.

Mr Ashdown indicated that the principal aim of the conference would be to carve out an identity for the Liberal Democrats as a "radical, reformist party", and most of the debates are expected to be free of the

rancour which has often damaged the party in previous years.

Some senior party figures, however, were voicing concern that a strong "pacifist" element in the party would seek to use a debate on the Gulf crisis to undermine the Liberal Democrats' support for the Government's strategy. Mr Ashdown repeated yesterday that force might be necessary to dislodge Iraq from Kuwait but stressed that it should be regarded as a last resort.

Conference took the controversial step of voting for the disestablishment of the Church of England in the opening session of the English party on Saturday, adds Diane Summers.

Mr Paddy Ashdown defending the move yesterday, said the policy formed a "fundamental part of modernising our institutions." It was not possible to be a multicultural society unless the state was willing to be even-handed, he said.

He acknowledged that the proposal could put off some voters but stressed that this would not stop the party from pressing ahead with the plan. Nor would it be deterred by objections voiced by the church, he added.



Paddy Ashdown, whose aims are ousting Mrs Thatcher and electoral reform, displaying his party's new symbol

# British Rail rules out freight for channel link

By Richard Tomkins, Transport Correspondent

BRITISH Rail planners working on fresh proposals for a high-speed link between London and the Channel tunnel have firmly ruled out the route being used for freight as well as passenger traffic.

The extra cost of doubling the number of tracks from two to four would mean the project would earn less than an 8 per cent return on the investment, the minimum level acceptable to the Government, according to the planners.

The decision will disappoint regional bodies and a wide range of pressure groups which had argued that a freight link with the tunnel would be the first step towards providing a network of routes capable of taking the bigger freight wagons operating on the Continent.

The decision not to take freight on the link may also undermine the case for schemes based on an eastern approach into London through the suburb of Stratford. These were based on the assumption that the high-speed link would carry both types of traffic.

BR has been reviewing the options for the high-speed link since June 14 when Mr Cecil Parkinson, the Transport Secretary, threw out a joint venture scheme between the public and private sectors as financially unworkable.

The 35-mile section of the route from the tunnel mouth to Upper Halling, near Rochester in Kent, has already been broadly fixed. But BR is studying how the line should be taken onwards into the proposed Channel tunnel express terminals at London's Waterloo and King's Cross stations.

BR has long favoured a route using existing rail corridors through south London. However at the Department of Transport's direction it is also taking a fresh look at the eastern approach via Stratford for a purely passenger link.

Whichever route is chosen, BR believes, the construction cost will be between £1bn and £2bn for a two-track passenger line, but to add another two tracks for freight would cost £1bn more.

# Eastern Electricity may take up stake in nuclear power stations

By David Thomas, Resources Editor

EASTERN ELECTRICITY, the largest of the 12 regional electricity companies to be privatised in November, may take a stake in nuclear power stations planned by British Nuclear Fuels, the state-owned nuclear reprocessing group.

Eastern Electricity's interest in BNFL's proposals could help to re-establish a UK nuclear power station building programme, suspended last year by the Government after the nuclear industry was dropped from electricity privatisation.

BNFL hopes to conclude feasibility studies of possible new nuclear power stations at its existing sites at Sellafield in Cumbria and Chapelcross in southern Scotland by the early autumn.

It said yesterday that it had studied proposals for two electricity companies in

England and Wales about becoming partners in the project. Eastern Electricity appeared to be the most interested in BNFL's plans.

Eastern Electricity would be important to BNFL because the Treasury has said that new stations must not be financed entirely from government-backed borrowings.

In addition, BNFL would almost certainly need a partnership with one or more electricity companies in order to guarantee customers for output from its stations. Both National Power and PowerGen, the two conventional generating companies in England and Wales, said yesterday they were not interested in BNFL's proposals.

BNFL said that although it is studying proposals for two nuclear stations, it might con-

clude that a small family of three stations would be more cost effective. It believes three stations could be built at its existing sites.

BNFL estimated that one 1,900MW nuclear station would cost about £1.5bn to build.

Most of the proposals for new, mainly gas-fired stations that have been encouraged by the government's privatisation programme are being financed by the banks, usually in a debt-to-equity ratio of 80:20.

BNFL has also been sounding out the world's leading power plant manufacturers about investment. These include Mitsubishi of Japan, Westinghouse of the US, Framatome of France, Asea Brown Boveri, the Swedish-Swiss group, and KWU, a subsidiary of Siemens of West Germany.

# Brent Walker seeks compensation from GrandMet over sale

By Terry Byland

BRENT WALKER, the property and leisure group, is to seek compensation of around £160m from Grand Metropolitan, the food, drinks and leisure group, over GrandMet's sale to Brent of the William Hill and Mecca Bookmakers betting shop chains.

Brent paid GrandMet £288m for the betting shop chains last summer.

In a claim expected to be made formally today, it will argue that 1989 profits are "substantially" below levels stated at the time of the deal last summer.

GrandMet said last night it saw "no substance" to the claim, of which it was first informed in March. It regarded Brent's final payment of £50m

on the deal, due on September 26, as due and payable, and would be taking "appropriate action" to protect its position.

William Hill and Mecca Bookmakers have around 1,800 betting outlets.

Brent's claim is based on a report commissioned by its board from accountants Touche Ross.

It comes amid City concern ahead of Brent Walker's interim results which are due in a fortnight. Brent Walker shares have plunged from a peak this year of 376p to 146p at Friday's close.

Worries have focused on the suspected difficulties at the betting shops, but have also ranged more widely over Brent Walker's general debt profile.

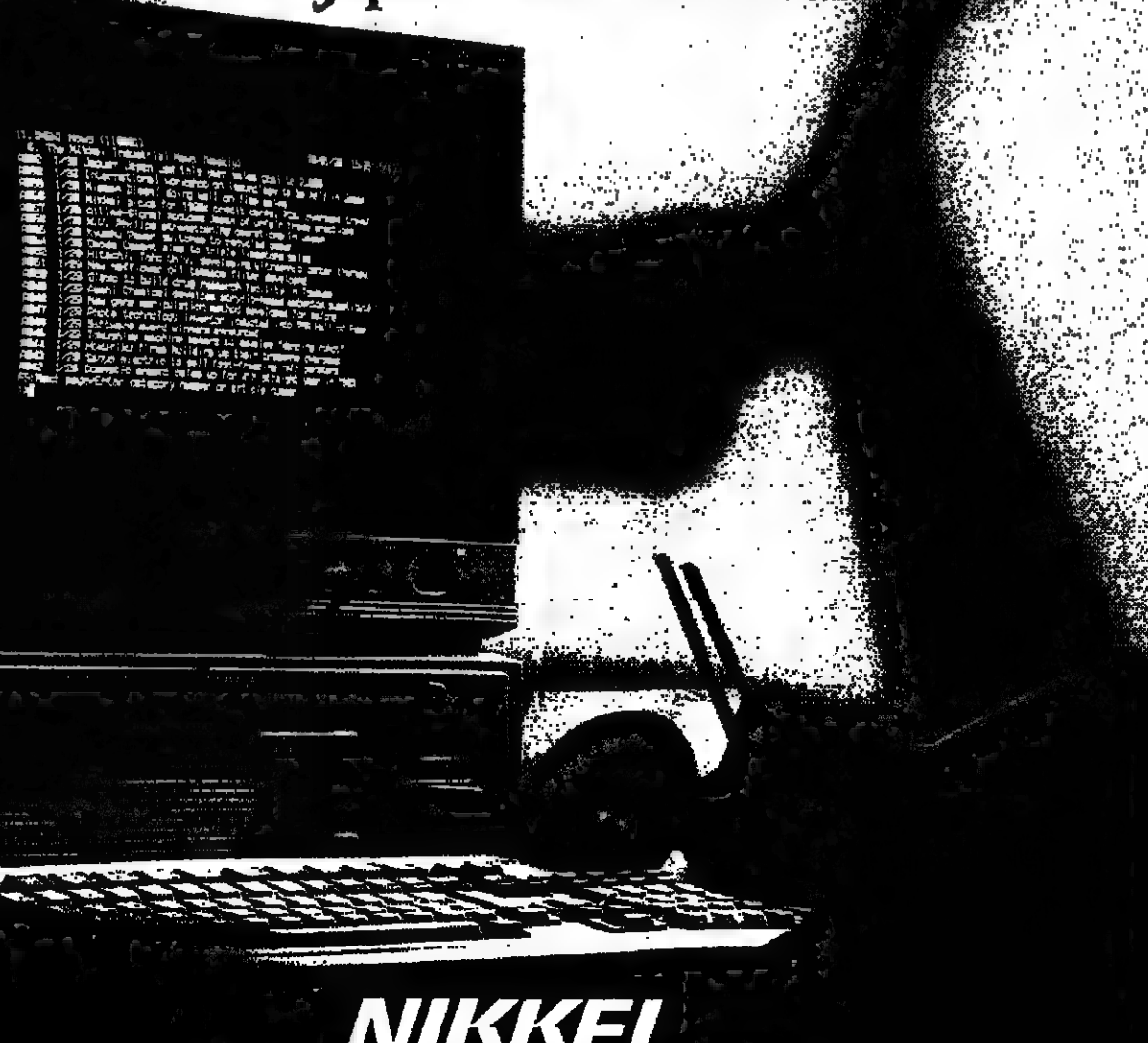
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MANAGEMENT

Italian engineering

# In pursuit of the quality ideal

Haig Simonian describes the approach of two privately-owned companies, Marpos and Carraro, which are among the minority in putting emphasis on product development and service

"It would make me very upset to think my products were less good than anyone else's."

"We think it's very important that, even at middle-management level, our staff should speak the language of our most important clients."

These statements come not, as one might expect, from quality- and marketing-minded German or Japanese executives, but from Italians. The first, Mario Possati, heads Marpos, an engineering company which carries his name and is a leading maker of sophisticated measuring equipment for machine tools.

The second is from Mario Carraro, whose company of the same name recently won one of Ford's coveted Q1 "Quality First" awards to suppliers. Some 80 per cent of its sales of axles, drive lines and differentials for tractors and earth-moving equipment are exported, with almost 50 per cent of turnover going to the UK alone.

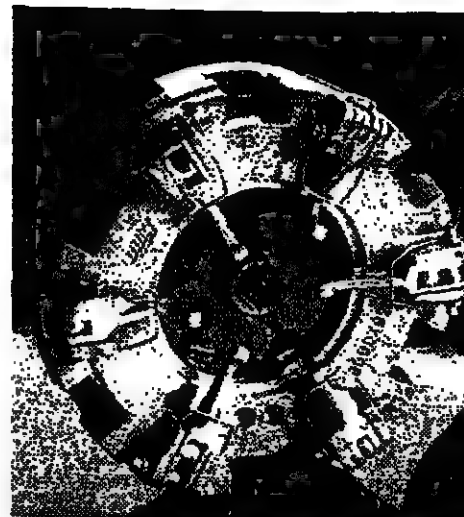
The fact that these two relatively small, but technologically advanced, Italian companies have managed to overcome their country's structural economic problems, its intermittent periods of rampant inflation, its inefficient banking system and its often abysmal public services, demonstrates how, with the right management approach, small and medium-sized businesses can survive in Italy even in difficult circumstances.

The two companies' emphasis on quality and service puts them in the minority among smaller Italian businesses; most focus on more traditional Italian industrial attributes such as pricing, speed, flexibility, stylish design, and keen pricing.

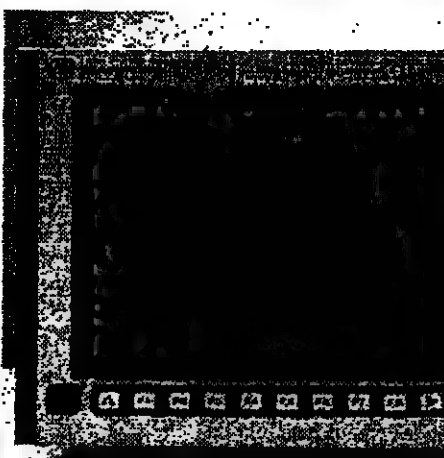
The potential of the Marpos and Carraro approach is underlined by the fact that even Fiat, Italy's private-sector industrial giant, is now talking about a new stress on "total quality" in its car production.

Possati's break came in 1982, when he first produced a comparator - a device which constantly measures the internal diameter of a metal part on a grinder - offering new standards of quality and reliability in the exacting conditions of the shop floor. The device allowed output to be tested continuously during production, rather than as part of a random, post-production, quality control process.

Since then, the group, which is based at Bentivoglio in northern central Italy, has widened its range of measuring



Mario Carraro (right): exporting axles, drive lines and differentials; and Mario Possati (far left): sophisticated measuring equipment



equipment for manufacturing industry, notably in car and truck production. It has also diversified by applying the sophisticated mechanical and opto-electronic measuring techniques developed for its original products to other uses such as materials handling and more generalised quality control processes.

Almost 90 per cent of Marpos's production is now exported, the bulk of it to the three key markets of Germany, the US and Japan. The company operates research units in Germany and the US as well as in Italy, and now holds around 80 per cent of the market in sophisticated gauges for machine tools in Japan, where it has six offices.

Carraro's edge came in the invention of a special type of axle, eliminating the need for a torque-limiting device and allowing the power from tractor engines to be delivered more efficiently to the wheels.

The company is based in the Veneto region of north-east Italy, with Ford and Case in the UK its biggest single customers. Some recently signed long-term deals, big German manufacturers among them; this means that group sales,

which rose by 23 per cent to £217m (\$32m) last year, should reach £400m by 1992.

Marpos and Carraro have plenty in common. They both take great pains to recruit high quality staff (over half Marpos's 975 employees are either university graduates or hold equivalent technical diplomas). They both set considerable store by training staff at all levels, in various aspects of management including foreign languages - Marpos uses English as its main working language. And they both pay unusual attention to the financial side of the business - "finance in small Italian companies is often seen as a non-essential function," notes Carraro, whose production managers take courses in finance.

Both companies also believe in ploughing back earnings and remain wary of the stock market - a policy that resembles that of Germany's Mittelstand more than the short-term approach to profits typical of most small and medium-sized Italian enterprises.

Rather than a need for capital, Possati stresses the quality of a company's management and workforce - what he calls its "human potential" - as the

key limiting factor to its speed of growth.

Both companies have repeatedly turned down takeover offers. "Selling control to a big multinational would be a bit like going public," Marpos says.

Over and above all these common factors, the characteristics which most single out Marpos and Carraro from other similar-sized Italian companies, relate to products and customer service.

Product quality. Aiming for the highest possible quality standards is a priority at both firms. A concern for quality was what drove Possati, now 68, to set up his business in the first place. "In order not to disturb the way things were being done, I decided to set up my own factory to meet my ideals."

The quality criterion is particularly important given Marpos's high precision products, where measurements are taken to a fraction of a micron and accuracy and reliability are paramount requirements of its big clients, notably in the auto industry.

Similarly, Carraro, which supplies a range of demanding multinationals such as Ford,

Case, Renault and Massey Ferguson, found that the owner's own drive for quality and reliability was reinforced by pressure from foreign clients.

Although many big manufacturers have sought to develop closer collaboration with those suppliers able to meet their quality, reliability and delivery standards, it is the "partnership" concept pioneered by Ford since 1987 which has been the main influence on the company, says Carraro.

Ford's determination to guarantee standards has obliged key suppliers to undergo regular inspections. In Carraro's case, Ford staff would arrive at the door four to six times a year to examine every aspect of the manufacturing process for quality control, he says.

Carraro is visibly proud of the fact that his company is only one of two Ford suppliers in Italy to have received the Q1 award. "It shows the quality culture in our factories is seen as adequate," he says.

In both Marpos and Carraro, the close identification of quality control with the owner has been a decisive factor in setting and maintaining standards. "I take personal pride in

it, and the workforce knows that I am personally responsible for the quality of our products," says Carraro. "On my desk I receive any complaints from the customers. And whenever there is a problem, the quality or production manager knows he can turn to me to sort it out."

Product development. The emphasis on quality has prompted highly conservative new product policies at both companies. For Mario Carraro's son Stefano, 39, who is the group's managing director, caution towards new products and growth has been an integral part of ensuring its reputation for quality.

Marpos only introduces new products into markets in which it is already well established and where it can provide the technical back-up required.

Alternatively, it only sells established products in new markets to begin with rather than running the risk of launching its name with a new item which may not yet be fully developed. "We always seek to avoid involving the two variables together. It would be too risky," Stefano Possati says.

Service. The same concern

for quality is reflected in its determination to take responsibility for its own distribution and after-sales service, despite the heavy additional cost burden.

Thus, the group employs over half as many people in its three main markets as at its home base, with about 150 staff in Japan, where it opened its first office in 1970, and around 200 employees each in the US and Germany, where operations began in the mid-1960s.

Having full responsibility for sales and service is essential for any manufacturer of precision instruments which depends on its reputation for high quality and reliability, according to Stefano Marpos. While US customers may be more tolerant of lapses, the Japanese, Germans and Swiss - three of its major clients - are the world's "least forgiving" customers, he says.

Marpos's determination not to work through local agents was put to its toughest test in Japan, a crucial market for the company given the size of its domestic manufacturing industry, particularly in the automotive sector, which is one of Marpos's biggest customers.

As many much bigger groups have learned to their cost, gaining independent distribution is often easier said than done. Marpos's first branch in Tokyo only opened after a "long struggle not to be represented by one of the big trading companies," says Stefano Possati.

Research and development. Both Marpos and Carraro share the same evolutionary approach towards their R&D efforts. "Our research has always been into developing products where we're sure we're already world leaders," says Stefano Possati.

Likewise, in-house production has invariably been discontinued in favour of buying from outside specialists when the company felt it was getting out of its depth technologically.

Other Italian businesses clearly have lessons to learn from Marpos and Carraro, particularly in terms of their stress on quality. Mario Possati warns that this can turn into an obsession. "Achieving absolute perfection is utopian, and a company must take care not to let matters get out of hand," he says. "Sometimes we put too much stress on perfection ourselves in the past."

But, he says, "if you do things well, you'll see that the results come through eventually."

## Management abstracts

Determining employee deviance. *KB Sikora in Journal of Business and Psychology (US), Winter 89 (15 pages)*

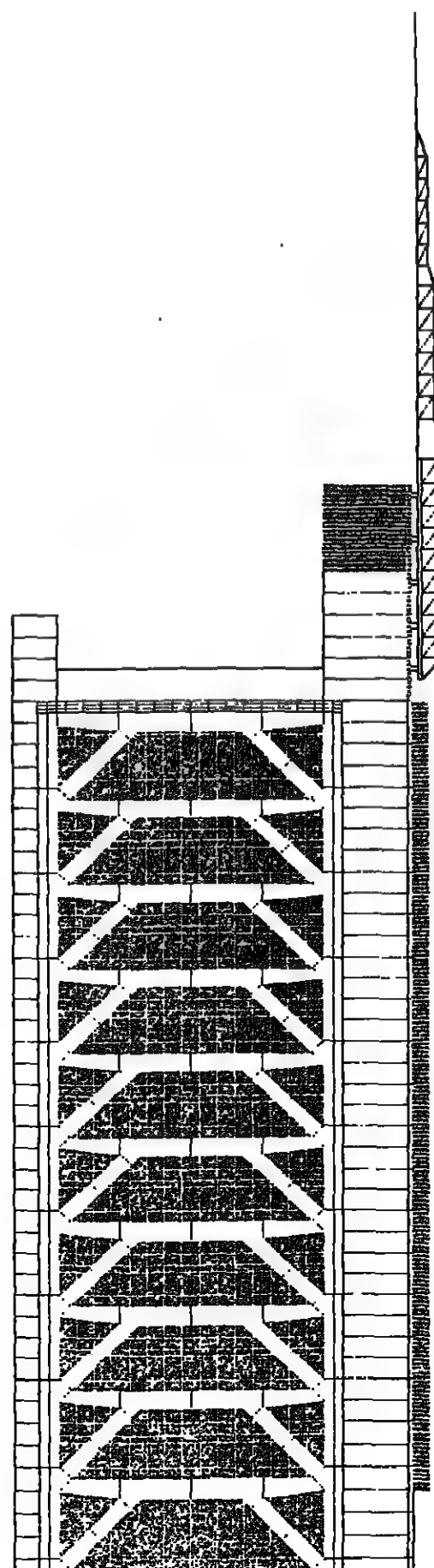
Applies this term to employee theft (cash, merchandise or other property) and counter-productive activities such as sloppy work, going slow and drug-taking; reports the results of two large-scale surveys of employees in fast-food shops and supermarkets which revealed deviance on a substantial scale; discusses whether the survey methodology was likely to yield a reliable estimate of deviance, and concludes that it was; notes some implications for selection testing of potential employees. Accounting for identifiable intangible assets. *J McCuey + CF Keown in The Columbia Journal of World Business (US), Autumn 89 (13 pages)*

Looks at the recent Australian exposure draft on accounting for identifiable intangible assets, outlining the assets which it is proposed should be recognised in financial statements, how they should be measured, why and how they should be amortised, and how they should be revalued. Managing managers in Europe. *P Bournais + J H Chaudat in European Management Journal (UK), Mar 90 (16 pages)*

Analyses main trends emerging from discussions with top management in 40 major European companies on how they are preparing human resources management strategies for 1992, particularly in regard to defining and recruiting "Euro-managers". Develops, from statistical analyses, a framework of European companies which identifies four styles for managing Euro-managers, and the strategic variables that distinguish these companies - multinationals (which consider Europe as only part of their operational scope); Europe first - which operate on a global scale, but with Europe as the main focus; repositioning for Europe (operating globally, but needing to concentrate on their European activities); and supranational companies, having a strong national basis but vulnerable because of deregulation. Examines major differences between the four groups.

These abstracts are condensed from the abstracting journals published by Andrew Ross Management Publications. Licensed copies of the abstracts may be obtained at a cost of £5 each (including VAT and p.p.h. costs) with orders from Andrew Ross, 100, Tottenham Court Road, London W1P 0LP.

The design of Century Tower represents our response to its place and context, influenced by and sensitive to the traditions of the past, but also shaped by an anticipation of the future. Sir Norman Foster



Tokyo's Century Tower designed by Foster Associates provides the perfect working environment. The building's sophisticated computerized management system and advanced telecommunication services respond to expanding needs. There is an elegant simplicity and calm about the quality of space created. With views over central Tokyo, each of the twenty stories opens onto an atrium suffused with natural light. Interior fittings are superbly crafted. Office suites achieve optimum column free area and are complemented by restaurants, museum, reception room, golf range and recreation centre.

Century Tower will be available for occupancy from Spring 1991. To ensure it becomes part of your future in Japan telephone for details to Century Real Estate Corporation (The Obunsha Group) Telephone 03 266 6035 or write to Sumitomo Realty and Development Company 2-4-1 Nishi-Shinjuku, Shinjuku-ku Tokyo Telefax 03 342 8050



**PRECAST  
CONCRETE  
DESIGN & BUILD**

**COSTAIN**

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Dow Mac**

## Crossing the Rhine

The widening of the Rodenkirchen suspension bridge over the Rhine, near Cologne, in West Germany, has set a new challenge for REND-DEL PALMER & TRITTON, part of the High-Point group.

As far as is known no other suspension bridge has been widened by the addition of a third cable, combined with doubling of the deck width. This is to be achieved without interruption to the existing traffic flow. When the project is completed the bridge will have three lanes in each direction plus two cycleways.

The project design has been produced by engineers of the German regional government, Landschaftsverband Rheinland and RPT's task is to provide the final engineering design and construction engineering.

It forms an integral part of the £67m contract awarded earlier this year to Cleveland Bridge and Engineering, part of Trafalgar House, and its joint venture partners, Strabag Bau AG and Thyssen Engineering of Germany, to widen and reconstruct the 567 metre long bridge.

Construction of the extended foundations alongside the existing bridge is already under way and work on the superstructure will begin next year. The contract calls for completion in June 1994.

## CONSTRUCTION CONTRACTS

# Smithfield market scheme £34m American highway project



A view of the Smithfield Central meat market in the City of London

**ECB PROJECT SERVICES** has been formally appointed by the Corporation of London as project co-ordinators for the £34m refurbishment of one of the country's most important markets - the Smithfield Central Market in London.

The refurbishment will be undertaken in response to recent European legislation, whereby all Community meat markets must comply with new regulations concerning hygiene.

The plans will end several years of uncertainty over the market's future during which alternative sites outside central London have been consid-

ered. However, no suitable site has been identified and planning permission and listed building consent have therefore been obtained for the proposals to refurbish and redevelop the Grade II listed building which dates back to 1858.

The project, which encompasses some 277,000 sq ft, not only includes alterations to improve the market accommodation at ground level and ancillary accommodation at first floor level, but also the development of 86,000 sq ft of commercial office space on the second floor and a mezzanine car park in the basement.

Design, tendering and approval procedures will be carried out over 20 months and construction work, which will be undertaken in four phases to avoid disrupting the market traders, will take about 60 months to complete and is scheduled to start in spring 1992.

Construction work will include stripping all internal walls, fixtures and fittings, cold stores and shop units. An extensive fitting-out programme will then be undertaken involving the installation of refrigerated shop units in the 110,000 sq ft trading area.

**BALFOUR BEATTY** has won its first major civil engineering contract in the US as one of three orders which together total over US\$120m (£65.6m).

The Department of Transportation of the State of New Jersey has awarded Balfour Beatty a US\$62m (£33.8m) contract for the improvement of Route 147 in Cape May County.

The contract includes the construction of two navigation bridges: a 2,768 ft long, 25 span bridge over Grassy Sound, and a 940 ft long, 13 span low level bridge over Beach Creek. The construction of 2.3 miles of dual two lane carriageway and the creation of 24 acres of wetlands also forms part of the development.

Balfour Beatty Bahamas has been awarded a US\$24m (£13.1m) contract from the Bahamas Electricity Corporation for the civil engineering works for a 60MW power plant which is required to meet the increasing demands for energy on New Providence Island.

Balfour Beatty is responsible for constructing the power house, control building, switchgear building, and for installing the electrical and fire protection services.

In Venezuela, Balfour Beatty has been awarded a US\$33m (£19m) contract to build a 500 bedroom hotel complex at Puerto La Cruz.

## City offices development

**MOWLEM BUILDING** has been awarded a £12m contract for Land Securities' Veritas House office redevelopment at 119-125 Finsbury Pavement, London, EC2.

The original Veritas House, built in the 1960s, has been completely demolished.

The construction of the 58,000 sq ft air conditioned office block involves an eight-storey steel frame structure

with steel decking, concrete floor slabs, granite and anodised aluminium facade panels and double glazed windows.

The Finsbury Pavement elevation will have a "drum and prism" facade and be faced mainly in dark green granite. The building will incorporate full air conditioning, raised floors and suspended ceilings.

## Water industry orders

**TILBURY GROUP** has won contracts worth £4.94m for specialist civil engineering work for the water industry. Tilbury Construction has been awarded two reservoir con-

tracts, one by Thames Water Utilities, worth £2m, and the other by Tendring Hundred Waterworks Co of Manningtree, Essex, worth £2.94m.

The Thames Water contract involves the construction of a 30 megawatt reinforced concrete reservoir for the storage of treated water.

The East Anglia project comprises the construction of the Horsley Cross reservoir and pumping station. The contracts are due for completion in the autumn of 1991.

## Hotel accommodation in Kings Cross

**TARMAC CONSTRUCTION** has been awarded a £15.3m contract to build the 404-bedroom Holiday Inn, Kings Cross - Bloomsbury, at the junction of Kings Cross Road and Cal-

thorpe Street - previously the site of the Mount Pleasant Hotel.

Work on the nine-storey building, for Firoka (Kings Cross), started recently and is

scheduled for completion early in 1992. It will incorporate a basement and roof-level parking spaces and a partial mezzanine floor between ground and first-floor levels.

## DTI GENERAL LICENCES IRAQ and KUWAIT

### Open General Supply Licence (Authorised Recipients)

The Secretary of State, in exercise of powers conferred by Articles 3 and 9 of the Iraq and Kuwait (United Nations Sanctions) Order 1990 (a) ("the UN Sanctions Order") hereby grants the following Licence:

1. Subject to the following provisions of this Licence, this Licence authorises:

- the supply and delivery of any goods that are not in Iraq or Kuwait to or to the order of any person in Iraq or Kuwait being a person specified in the Schedule hereto; and
- any agreement for or act calculated to promote such supply or delivery.

2. Paragraph 1 above does not authorise:

- any supply or delivery which is -

- (i) to any destination in Iraq or Kuwait;
- (ii) for the purpose of any business carried on in or operated from Iraq or Kuwait; or
- (iii) calculated to promote any unlawful exportation of any goods not in Iraq or Kuwait, or any unlawful supply or delivery of such goods, to a person in Iraq or Kuwait or to any person for the purposes of any business carried on in or operated from Iraq or Kuwait; or
- (b) any agreement for or act calculated to promote any such supply or delivery.

3. Nothing in this Licence shall affect any prohibition or restriction on the supply or exportation of any goods other than under or by virtue of the UN Sanctions Order.

4. Any expression used in this Licence shall have the meaning it has in the UN Sanctions Order or the Import, Export and Customs Powers (Defence) Act 1939 (b).

5. This Licence shall come into force on 10th September 1990.

(a) S.I. 1990/1651, amended by S.I. 1990/1770.

(b) 1939 c. 65.

**MICHAEL COOLICAN**

An Assistant Secretary,

Department of Trade and Industry,

10th September 1990.

### SCHEDULE

ANDRE L'HUALT NEOPLAST SA (FRANCE)

AUTOBAR BEVERAGE SYSTEMS LTD

AUTOBAR FORD SERVICES LTD

AUTOBAR GROUP LTD

AUTOBAR INDUSTRIES LTD

BOMMEYS LTD

BRANSTON FUELS LTD

BRIAN WOGAN LTD

BUCHANAN LABS & COMPANY LTD

CANON FUELS LTD

CARRIFORD MANAGEMENT LTD

CHEQUER FOODS LTD

COFFILTA COFFEE SERVICES LTD

CONTEST CRICKET CENTRES LTD

DEVEREUX PROPERTIES LTD

FAYARD ET RAVEL SA (FRANCE)

FENLAND FUELS LTD

FERNHURST FUELS LTD

FERRACAN LTD

GOLDEN EAGLE PETROLEUM (HOLDINGS) LTD

GOLDEN EAGLE PETROLEUM CO LTD

HAYS GALLERIA LTD

HOTEL & CATERING SUPPLIES LTD

IMPROMEX AG (SWISS)

IRISH MERCHANTS LTD

JARVEY AIMER LTD

KENT PETROLEUM LTD

KILLARA INVESTMENTS LTD

KUWAIT AIRWAYS CORPORATION

KUWAIT INVESTMENT OFFICE

KUWAIT OIL TANKER COMPANY

KUWAIT PETROLEUM (GB) LTD

KUWAIT PETROLEUM INTERNATIONAL

AVIATION CO (UK) LTD

KUWAIT PETROLEUM INTERNATIONAL

AVIATION CO LTD

KUWAIT PETROLEUM INTERNATIONAL LTD

KUWAIT PETROLEUM LUBRICANTS LTD

LACEHEAD LTD

LASER FUELS LTD

LES PLASTIQUES DU VÉLAY SARL (FRANCE)

LISTER HOSPITAL SERVICES LTD

LONDON & NORTHERN PROPERTIES LTD

LONDON BRIDGE CITY LTD

LONDON LITHOTRIPTER CENTRE LTD

M KAMPER SERVICES LTD

### M&F GmbH

MAJLEX SA

MARKIM FUELS OILS LTD

MONO CONTAINERS LTD

NATIONAL BANK OF KUWAIT

POLYFILM LTD

PORKELIS FINANCE LTD

PORKELIS PROPERTY AND GENERAL

INVESTMENT TRUST LTD

PYMBLE PROPERTY

R P FUELS LTD

R W WHARTON LTD

ROSS CHEMICALS & STORAGE CO LTD

SANTA FE EXPLORATION (UK) LTD

SANTA FE MINERALS ONSHORE (UK) LTD

ST MARTINS PROPERTY CORPORATION

ST MARTINS (INDUSTRIAL) LTD

ST MARTINS GESTION IMMOBILIERE

FRANCE SA

ST MARTINS HOLDINGS LTD

ST MARTINS HOSPITALS LTD

ST MARTINS INVESTMENTS LTD

ST MARTINS MEDICAL SERVICES LTD

ST MARTINS PROPERTIES LTD

ST MARTINS PROPERTY CORPORATION LTD

ST MARTINS SARL

THE LONDON STONE CLINIC LTD

TIMEREGAL LTD

TISHU EXPORTS LTD

TISHU MFG LTD

TWENTY-SEVEN WELBECK STREET LTD

UNITED ARAB SHIPPING COMPANY

VENDEBEKA LTD

WSAP FILM SYSTEMS LTD

YEAMANN & MACKINTOSH LTD

**EXPORT LICENCE**

Open General Export Licence (Personal effects) dated 21st August 1990 granted by the Secretary of State.

Coming into force 21st August 1990.

The Secretary of State, in exercise of powers conferred by Article 3 of the Export of Goods (Control) (Iraq and Kuwait Sanctions) Order 1990 (a) ("the Order") hereby grants the following Open General Export Licence:

1. Subject to the following provisions of this Licence the export of personal effects to any destination in Iraq and Kuwait is authorised.

2. Nothing in this Licence shall affect any prohibition or restriction on the exportation of any goods under or by virtue of any enactment other than a prohibition or restriction in the Order or the Iraq and Kuwait (United Nations Sanctions) Order 1990 (b).

3. For the purpose of this Licence: -

- (a) unless the context otherwise requires, and expression used in this Licence shall have the meaning it bears in the Import, Export and Customs Powers (Defence) Act 1939 (c) or the Order;

- (b) "personal effects" shall mean clothes, furniture, carpets, paintings, private vehicles, domestic electrical or electronic goods, appliances and implements, goods for use for personal hygiene and books (other than any technological document) which the exporter might reasonably be expected to take with him for his own regular and private use;

4. This Licence shall come into force on 21st August 1990.

**MICHAEL COOLICAN**

An Assistant Secretary,

Department of Trade and Industry,

21st August 1990.

(a) S.I. 1990/1640

(b) S.I. 1990/1651

(c) 1939 c. 65

**LICENCE**

Open General Supply Licence (Essential Goods) dated 10th August 1990 granted by the Secretary of State.

Coming into force on 10th August 1990.

The Secretary of State, in exercise of powers conferred by Article 3 of the Iraq and Kuwait (United Nations Sanctions) Order 1990 (a) ("the Order"), hereby grants the following Open General Supply Licence:

### Licensed goods

1. Subject to the following provisions of this Licence, the goods mentioned in the Schedule hereto may be supplied in any place other than Iraq or Kuwait to any Iraqi or Kuwaiti person.

### Condition

2. The authorisation in paragraph 1 is subject to the condition that the goods supplied must be intended for consumption or use by the Iraqi or Kuwaiti person to whom they are supplied.

### Interpretation

3. For the purpose of this Licence: -

- (a) any expression used in this Licence shall have the meaning it bears in the Order; and

- (b) "Iraqi or Kuwaiti person" means any body constituted or incorporated under the law of Iraq or Kuwait and any body carrying on business which is controlled by persons or bodies resident in Iraq or Kuwait or constituted or incorporated as aforesaid;

- (c) "supply" includes deliver or agree to supply or deliver.

### Entry into Force

4. This Licence shall come into force on 17th August 1990.

(a) S.I. 1990/1640

(b) 1939 c. 60

### MICHAEL COOLICAN

An Assistant Secretary,

Department of Trade and Industry,

17th August 1990.

### SCHEDULE

Goods licensed for supply:

Foodstuffs

Gas

Solid fuel

Medical products

Water

Goods for use for personal hygiene

Goods for use for cleaning.

### Open General Supply and Export Licence

(Personal Mail to Iraq and Kuwait)

The Secretary of State, in exercise of powers conferred by Article 3 of the Export of Goods (Control) (Iraq and Kuwait Sanctions) Order 1990 (a) ("the Exports Order") and Articles 3 and 9 of the Iraq and Kuwait (United Nations Sanctions) Order 1990 (b) ("the UN Sanctions Order") hereby grants the following Licence:

1. Subject to the following provisions of this Licence, this Licence authorises:

- (a) the despatch and exportation of any personal correspondence from the United Kingdom by mail,

- (b) the supply or delivery of any personal correspondence, and

- (c) any agreement for or act calculated to promote such supply or delivery, to any destination in Iraq or Kuwait.

2. This Licence is subject to the condition that any such personal correspondence does not promote the unlawful exportation of any goods from Iraq or Kuwait or the unlawful supply or delivery of any goods to any person in Iraq or Kuwait or to any person for the purpose of any business carried on in or operated from Iraq or Kuwait.

3. Nothing in this Licence shall affect any prohibition or restriction on the supply or exportation of any goods other than under or by virtue of the Exports Order or the UN Sanctions Order.

4. For the purposes of this Licence:

- (a) "personal correspondence" means any correspondence which, besides its envelope or packaging, does not contain or in any part consist of:

- (i) a technological document, or

- (ii) any other material that is not a personal communication;

- (b) "a personal communication" means a written communication to a specific addressee which is not sent in any public official capacity or wholly or partly for the purpose of the sender's business; and

(a) S.I. 1990/1640

(b) S.I. 1990/1651, amended by S.I. 1990/1770.

### (c) any expression used in this Licence shall have the meaning it has in the Exports Order, the UN Sanctions Order, the Export of Goods (Control) Order 1989 (a) or the Import, Export and Customs Powers (Defence) Act 1939 (b).

5. This Licence shall come into force on 11th September 1990.

(a) S.I. 1989/2376, amended by S.I. 1990/1228.

(b) 1939 c. 69.

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**MICHAEL COOLICAN**

An Assistant Secretary,

Department of Trade and Industry,

11th September 1990.

### IMPORT LICENCE

Open General Import Licence (Document Mail from Iraq and Kuwait) dated 11th September 1990 granted by the Secretary of State.

Coming into force 12th September 1990.

The Secretary of State, in exercise of powers conferred by Articles 2 and 5 of the Import of Goods (Control) Order 1954 (a) ("the Imports Order") and now vested in him (b), and by Articles 2 and 9 of the Iraq and Kuwait (United Nations Sanctions) Order 1990 (c) ("the UN Sanctions Order"), hereby grants the following Open General Import Licence:

1. Subject to the following provisions of this Licence, this Licence authorises:

- (a) any act calculated to promote the exportation of any documents from Iraq or Kuwait by mail, and

- (b) the importation into the United Kingdom of any documents exported from Iraq or Kuwait by mail.

2. This Licence is subject to the condition that such documents, together with any envelope or packaging, do not:

- (a) consist of or contain (besides such envelope or packaging) any material other than one or more documents or correspondence; or

- (b) promote the unlawful exportation of any goods from Iraq or Kuwait or the unlawful supply or delivery of any goods to any person in Iraq or Kuwait or to any person for the purpose of any business carried on in or operated from Iraq or Kuwait.

3. Nothing in this Licence shall affect any prohibition or restriction on the importation of any goods under or by virtue of any enactment other than section 1 of the Import, Export and Customs Powers (Defence) Act 1939 (d) or the UN Sanctions Order 1990.



## THE WEEK AHEAD

## ECONOMICS

## Looking for evidence of recession

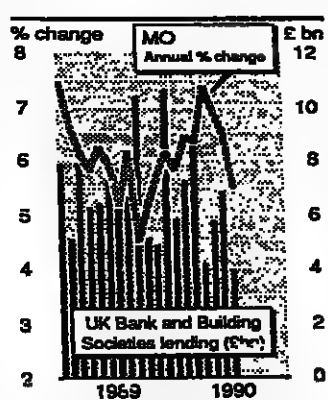
THE ACCUMULATION of evidence that the UK economy is heading out of its slowdown into a recession is likely to continue this week.

The money supply data have been offering conclusive evidence of the UK Chancellor's sought-after abatement in consumer demand. His chosen yardstick, the narrow measure M0, is predicted to slide within its target range of 1.5 per cent on Thursday.

Yet bulls for an interest rate cut are likely to be disappointed until M0 has fallen into the midpoint of its range and inflation is brought down from its current heights.

The current state of the public sector finances will be revealed in the borrowing requirement for August. The Treasury looks likely to undershoot its target of a debt repayment of £7bn in 1990-1991 by about £2bn - as long as there is no further slippage from now on.

But the cost of the military expedition to the Gulf and the pressures on public spending caused by high inflation could result in an even smaller debt repayment on the way back towards a balanced budget by



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in Port of Spain, Trinidad.

International Monetary Fund

releases updated World Economic

Outlook report.

Thursday: UK, provisional

money supply for August (M0)

0.9 per cent, M4 1 per cent, M4

lending £5bn, provisional figures

for vehicle production.

Japan, money supply data.

West Germany, Bundesbank

council meeting. Michel Cam-

dessus, IMF managing director,

holds press conference in

Washington ahead of IMF/

World Bank annual meetings.

Friday: UK, gross domestic

product, second quarter 1990

(0.5 per cent). Canada, July

retail sales (down 0.3 per cent).

US, Treasury Budget (down

\$45bn).

Saturday: Finance ministers

and central bank governors of

Group of Seven countries meet

in Washington.

Finance ministers of Group

of 24 developing countries meet

in Washington. Japan, real

GNP for second quarter.

Sunday: Meeting of finance

ministers of Group of 10 industrialised

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Interim Committee.

Commonwealth finance ministers



Joe Matsau, Managing Director of the Lesotho Electrical Company, is bringing energy to the villages of his country.

FINANCIAL TIMES MONDAY SEPTEMBER 17 1990



## Joe Matsau is bringing electricity to

## "The Kingdom in the Sky".

The de-forestation of some parts of Africa has been a matter of survival, not profit. In the mountainous kingdom of Lesotho, generations of villagers have had to live off the land for fuel to cook and heat their homes.

Joe Matsau of the Lesotho Electrical Company has a promising alternative. He is directing a long-term rural electrification programme which will make his country energy self-sufficient.

Hydro-electric power is the key, with transmission lines reaching up to over 2,000 meters into the "Kingdom in the Sky", as it is known locally. Village by village, Lesotho is switching dependency from the earth's fragile resources to the fruits of man's ingenuity.

"We still have a long way to go", says Mr. Matsau, "but the programme would never have seen the light of day without ABB's help - not just their technology, but their skill in identifying crucial aid and loan sources for us."

"The world is changing fast. To catch up, we have to change even faster. And, thanks to ABB, we're doing just that."

*ABB is a world leader in electrical engineering, committed to the development of new and better ways of generating power, getting it to where it is needed, and using it efficiently.*

ABB Asea Brown Boveri Ltd  
Reader Services Centre  
PO Box 222  
CH-8021 Zürich/Switzerland

**ABB**  
ASEA BROWN BOVERI

ARCHITECT

No 1

Colin Amer

I am a...  
responsible...  
and...  
Courage...  
Dulness...  
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Some 900 architects were attracted by the competition to design a new building next to Soane's Dulwich masterpiece, pictured above

## ARCHITECTURE

## No match for Soane's genius

Colin Amery describes a disappointing competition for a new pavilion

It seemed like a good idea at the time. All the auguries were favourable and there was a huge response from the architectural profession in Britain. *Country Life* magazine and the Dulwich Picture Gallery recently sponsored an important architectural ideas competition for a new pavilion to be built at Dulwich as a neighbour to the gallery, which was designed by Sir John Soane in 1811. Last week at a dinner in the gallery, the results of the competition were announced. Sadly, the winners selected by the judges has been received with almost universal disappointment and the fine idea of the competition has been diluted by the distressingly uninteresting winning designs.

There is no doubt that it was the considerable appeal of building alongside Soane's masterpiece that challenged the imagination of so many architects. Some 900 applied to register for the competition and in the end there was a record number of 377 entries. This must have set the judges a hard task. The fruit of the judges' labours, and indeed the fruit of the toil of the architects, is currently on view at the Dulwich Gallery until October 14. If you could face it, the best time to visit would probably be during September

25-30 when all the 377 entries will be exhibited in a marquee. What an opportunity to survey the range of British architectural talent.

The Dulwich Picture Gallery contains the 371 pictures assembled by the French picture dealer Noël Desenfans as the nucleus of a projected National Gallery of Poland. His purchases, made in the 18th century, formed a remarkable collection which reached Dulwich College through the bequest of Desenfans's friend, the painter Sir Francis Bourgeois. Bourgeois left an endowment for the upkeep of the pictures and Sir John Soane was commissioned to design both a gallery and a mausoleum for the founders.

Dulwich Picture Gallery was one of the first art galleries to be opened to the public in Europe and the very first to be opened in England. It has been described by the leading expert on the work of Soane, Sir John Summerson, as embodying "Soane's eccentric haunting genius as no other surviving work of his (except his own museum)." Any visitor will see at once that Soane's great skill as an architect enabled him to avoid any sense of inertia in his use of the language of neoclassicism. It is tense and noble building - simple in its materials and clear in its ingenious use of light.

The winning scheme for the new pavilion is by an unknown young group of architects, Christopher Grasby with Brendan O'Neill and Tom Zetek. The brief for the competition was kept deliberately vague and only asked for the minimal requirements of a tea room, shop and lecture hall. The winning design is almost invisible. It is praised by the assessors as being a wonder of discretion. Two long garden walls almost conceal the steel and glass single storey, flat roofed pavilion which is not linked to the existing museum. Invisibilism is the new style. How curious to praise and select something that has no architectural character. The assessors themselves do not seem very confident about the planning of this winning design which they describe as "perhaps over-simple."

The second prize scheme was won by Allies and Morrison who located their pavilion on the street some distance from the gallery. Their design was a perfectly standard and uninspiring boxy scheme. The third prize winner was Peter Clach who produced a glassy tent with strong overtones of a revival of the Festival of Britain. There were other solutions that put the extension underground, or surrounded it with yew hedges, or

turned it into a monumental wing of the existing gallery. One perfectly sensible scheme suggested a pair of lodges that seems a neat way of dealing with overspill space in a formal context.

These disappointing results show that perhaps the Director of the Gallery, Mr Giles Waterfield, went about things in the wrong way. He followed the convention of asking the RIBA to monitor the competition and opened the competition to anyone registered as an architect in Britain. The hope was, I am sure, to find the unknown genius. This has occasionally happened in history. Giles Gilbert Scott was unknown and youthful when he won the competition to design the Anglican cathedral in Liverpool - but he had a clear brief and was not simply asked for rather woolly ideas.

Asking the RIBA to run things always puts architects in charge. In this case the three architects, Brian Carter, Gordon Boyer and Leonard Manasseh, are known for their conventional, rather old-fashioned and out of touch modernist views. Mr Manasseh, in his speech at the dinner managed to see in Sir John Soane the seeds of Brutalism - that ghostly and damaging style of the 1960's that has rightly been rejected. When

designers come up against that sort of ludicrous orthodoxy there is little hope of finding a new or inventive winner.

There were some classical entries but these were ruled out by the judges as "pastiche." I have not yet seen all the entries but I sense a whiff of mere prejudice here. I am not anxious for a weak-kneed classical revival but I looked in vain among the winning designs for any understanding of the essence of Soane. None of the winners seem to be able to comprehend the sublime nature of this rare building at Dulwich. Mr Waterfield would have received some much more inspiring architectural ideas if he had invited 50 leading architects from an international field. Indeed, he once organised a promising exhibition at the Gallery called *Soane and After*, when many leading architects considered Soane's gallery. If only he had nurtured some of the seeds he planted then.

At least we can rest assured that there is no little support for the sadly feeble winners that there is no chance of anything being built alongside Soane for a long time to come. The competition results are a sadly missed opportunity to elevate the architectural debate.

## Bartók and Beethoven

WIGMORE HALL

On Saturday András Schiff's Bartók-Beethoven Festival completed its course with a performance of the Bartók Sonata for Two Pianos and Percussion of such elating, hair-raising excitement as to close the whole enterprise on a note of triumph. It seems to be widely agreed that this triumph of the week-long schedule has indeed been Bartók's - and on the evidence of this final instalment alone, I see no reason to disagree with that judgement.

Equally, the link proposed between Bartók and Beethoven seems not to have been clearly argued in the content of each of Schiff's concert programmes: that was certainly the flaw in Saturday's bill of fare. A thoroughgoing examination of the debt (very real, and often admitted) owed by the later composer to the earlier would have placed the Bartók Sixth Quartet alongside one of the late Beethoven quartets - Op. 132, say, whose "Heilige Dankgesang" can be said to provide the model of slow, meditative string-quartet music so much absorbed into and at the same time questioned by the Sixth.

Instead, we had a concert-opener a less than compelling

account of the Beethoven C major Cello Sonata, Op. 102, no 1. It was not evenly matched in its performers (Schiff the delicately fresh and spontaneous pianist, Boris Pergamenchikov the well-meaning but entirely earthbound cellist), and as a result it offered no intelligible, let alone festive, insight into the Bartók-Beethoven theme, acting instead in the nature of the throwaway overture.

This was a miscalculation (when Schiff comes to plan his next London chamber-music series - which he should do with all possible speed - it should be kept in the forefront of his mind). But because of the superb Bartók that followed this Beethoven, it was easily forgiven even forgotten. The Sixth found the Takacs Quartet, resident group of the festival, at the peak of their powers. Simply as sound this account of the work was heart-breakingly beautiful: the opening solo, played with rare richness of tone and "speaking" eloquence of inflection, announced a performance style sustained by all four voices without lapse of concentration to the very end. The Takacs' passionate sense of Bartókian melody is counterpointed by their equally rig-

orous command of his ironic and sweet-sour folk-lyrical modes; indeed, a more complete understanding of the work one could hardly hope to find.

The sadness of the experience was, as it should be, all-pervasive, and so it was an excellent stroke of planning that after the interval it should be dispelled by the excitements of the Sonata. In a hall of Wigmore size, the fine details out of which its extraordinary exhilarations are made strike the listener directly, with main force - nothing goes amiss, everything tells and gathers dramatic energy.

The pianists were Schiff (glittering, impetuous, imaginatively bold) and Bruno Canino (an admirably cool, resourceful partner), the percussionists two of the leading members of the Hungarian Amadinda percussion ensemble. There was nothing in the playing to suggest that all four had not been working together on the work for many seasons. In terms of balance, focus, rhythmic co-ordination the meeting of minds and techniques proved matchless.

Max Loppert

## War Requiem

ALBERT HALL/RADIO 3

Whatever your political persuasion, it is unlikely you could pick an argument with Friday's Prom. In a break with tradition Beethoven's Ninth Symphony was moved this year from its usual spot on the penultimate night and its place was taken by Britten's *War Requiem*, a vision of commensurate grandeur and the most important work on a pacifist theme to come from any composer of the post-war era.

The message of the *War Requiem* is stark and clear. By mixing the Latin text of the Requiem Mass with a selection of poems by Wilfred Owen, written from the trenches of the First World War, Britten made the cause of death, rather than death itself, the subject of his Requiem setting. Nowhere is this more powerfully stated than in the tenor solo and it is entirely fitting that the outstanding contribution to this evening should come from the tenor soloist, Anthony Rolfe Johnson.

Even in the Albert Hall Rolfe Johnson is able to project every word clearly. The voice was full of music, despite a hard thread to the tone at

times, and the singer made his English texts as moving as they can ever have been. There are just one or two occasions a year when one comes away feeling that a performer has penetrated to the heart of a piece and communicated all that it has to say. This was unquestionably one of them.

His achievement was the more remarkable, because all three soloists had been placed at the back of the stage behind the orchestra. From that position the partitone Olaf Bar was unable to put across either voice or words with full impact; and while Yvonne Kenny was audibly striving for the proper authority in the soprano part, the music really requires (and was written for) a voice on an altogether more imposing scale.

None the less, the performance as a whole mostly rose to the occasion. It has been heartening over the years to see the *War Requiem* taken up by leading conductors from overseas, for instance Haitink, who has given some memorable performances at the Festival Hall, and now Kurt Masur. The East German conductor

led the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra in a well-paced performance, more overtly expressive than Britten himself would have wanted, but with its dedication never in doubt.

With the boys' choir high up in the gallery, the special possibilities of the Albert Hall were used to fine effect. The unanimity of the Choralists of Westminster Cathedral also made them the most noteworthy choral group of the evening, firmer of tone and attack than the combined forces of the Bach Choir and Brighton Festival Chorus in the main choral movements, well though they blended in the final ensemble of resolution.

Even in Britten's output there is no other work as compassionate and as determined to reach across national boundaries as the *War Requiem*. As the Prom programme is planned a year or more in advance, the BBC cannot possibly have known what a timely antidote it was providing to the Last Night revels in the present political circumstances.

Richard Fairman

## Britain takes top Venice Film Festival prize

Britain won top prize at the 47th Venice Film Festival. The Golden Lion for Best Film went to the British film *Crumb* and *Guidelines* are dead.

The jury, headed by Gore Vidal, awarded the Silver Lion to Martin Scorsese's Mafia drama *Good Fellas* and the Special Jury Prize to New Zealand's *Angel at My Table*, directed by Jane Campion.

Of the other competing countries, Russia excelled with a Best Actor prize for Oleg Borsov's performance in *Unknoy* and a Gold Medal for the Chernobyl drama *Rasput*, which "more than any other film underlined civil progress and human solidarity."

Malcolm Rutherford

## SALEROOM

## A war medals record

A mysterious buyer, bidding over the telephone, made Sotheby's day on Saturday when he paid a record price for a Victoria Cross group of medals of £126,500. His bid had been awarded in 1915 to William Rhodes-Morehouse for his bravery in bombing railway lines near Courtrai and returning his plane safely to base in spite of mortal wounds. He was the first airman to win the VC, which accounts for the price. The medals were sold by his niece and the money will go to charity. It is hoped that the VC will stay in the UK.

The same bidder secured the two other most important groups of war medals in the auction held at the RAF Museum in Hendon to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Battle of Britain. He paid £50,800 (over double the estimate) for the DSO and other medals won by a flying hero of the Second World War - Group Captain "Pick" Pickard. Among his exploits was the raid on Amiens prison in 1944 which enabled hundreds of captured French Resistance fighters to escape. "Pick" did not return from the mission.

The other group of medals had been won by another Second World War ace, Ginger Lacey, who is reckoned to be the most successful pilot of the Battle of Britain. He is credited, all told, with bringing down 28 enemy aircraft. He died last year and his medals brought £30,800.

But if the medals, mementoes and accessories of war did reasonably well, Sotheby's came unstuck when trying to

sell fighter aircraft of the Second World War. A Hurricane, the first to appear at auction and one of the most desirable still airworthy, was unsold at £790,000 (Sotheby's had hoped for over £1m). While the more common Spitfire attracted a highest, unsuccessful, bid of £840,000. They came from the collection of the budding entrepreneur Charles Church who was killed last year flying another Spitfire.

The new saleroom season slips up a gear this week but the auctions still tend to feature curiosities rather than solid antiques. For example, on Friday, Christie's South Kensington is selling over 250 celluloids which represent an animated artwork from the Pink Floyd 1983 film *The Wall*. It was a collaboration between the musician Roger Waters and the artist Gerald Scarman who are now disposing of their film. Estimates for most stills are in the £200 to £1,000 range.

The same auction house expects a high, £10,000, price for a fan tomorrow when it offers a rare leaf from a fan painted with the 30th birthday celebrations of Le Grand Dauphin in 1681.

Phillips is disposing of almost a thousand orders, decorations and medals today and tomorrow, including the VC that Private Arthur Procter won in 1916 - for saving lives of two fellow soldiers lying wounded in No Man's Land. He later became an RAF chaplain. The estimate is up to £15,000, and includes his other medals.

Antony Thorncroft

## Michael Garrick's jazz Passion at Berkhamsted

Michael Garrick's jazz choral interpretation of the Passion of Christ, *Judas Kiss*, will be performed in an expanded version with Scott Stromman's string orchestra in Berkhamsted School Chapel on October 13 and 14 at 7:45pm.

Originally commissioned by the Nottingham Festival and performed there in 1971, the work features the singer Norma Winston and instrumentalists Tim Garland and Jimmy Hastings (reeds), Steve

Waterman (trumpet), Paul Moylan (bass), Alan Jackson (drums), Tina Lyle (percussion) and Michael Garrick (pipe organ).

Following its London premiere at St John's Smith Square in 1971 the FT's critic described it as an "impressively conceived work... easily followed and musically uncomplicated... full of exciting musical textures." The telephone number for enquiries is 0442 864889.

## The Dark Lady Reads the Sonnets

STUDIO, LYRIC HAMMERSMITH

Faith Kent rather subscribes to the Thorpe theory of Shakespeare's Sonnets. Thomas Thorpe was one of the original publishers. It is suggested that he printed them in the order he did because each one was written on a single sheet of paper. One day there was a fight and they all fell off the table. They were picked up at random, as 150 bits of paper might be, and that was the order in which they appeared. Many scholars have spent much time since trying to

regroup them as well as work out theories of the characters involved.

No matter. As Ms Kent says in her solo performance at the Lyric Studio in Hammersmith, the Sonnets stand in their own right. It is of no great importance which of the scholars were right or wrong.

As a piece of theatre, *The Dark Lady Reads the Sonnets* has two things going for it. One is the merits of the poems themselves. You would have to be a pretty bad actor to

spoil them. The other is the speculation about who does what to whom. Ms Kent intertwines the two, mixing the narrative and gossip with straight readings.

Actually, she inclines to the theories of A.L. Bowse, the historian who with his customary certainty insists that the "Mr W.H." to whom the Sonnets are dedicated and who is described as "the onlie beggetter," is Shakespeare's patron the Earl of Southampton whose name was Henry Wriothesley. Others

hold this theory, too, though I like the suggestion of a German critic called Barnstorf in the 19th century that "W.H." stands for "Will Himself," on the grounds that Shakespeare literally was the "onlie beggetter."

Still, there is no need to dwell on it. Ms Kent never labours a point. She takes us through some 50 of the sonnets in less than two hours moving variously from the love poems, to the bitterness and self-mockery. Wit is never far away. She thinks, for the

record, that Shakespeare was heterosexual and might have mentioned that even Coleridge was shocked at the very idea that the Bard might have been in love with a man.

There are many schools in the Hammersmith area. They should encourage their A Level students of English Literature to go and see Ms Kent, for she leads a very pleasant excursion around the man, the times and the work.

Malcolm Rutherford

## ARTS GUIDE

September 14-20

## MUSIC

## London

**Brave New Worlds:** contemporary music festival. City of Birmingham Symphony Orchestra, conducted by Simon Bartle, plays works by Bartók and Stravinsky (Mon). Royal Festival Hall.

**The Jazz Warriors:** a tribute to Chris McGregor, the South African composer, with guest South African Choir, Amabutho (Tue). Queen Elizabeth Hall.

**London Symphony Orchestra,** conducted by Michael Tilson Thomas, performs Beethoven's 8th Symphony. (Thurs) Barbican Hall.

## Paris

**Orchestre Philharmonique de Radio France** conducted by Marek Janowski. Ives, Bartók, Hindemith (Wed). Radio France. Grand Auditorium (42302308).

**Philharmonie Orchestra** conducted by John Eliot Gardiner. Berlioz' *Roméo et Juliette* (Wed). Chatelet (4022840).

## Picardy

**The 3rd Cathedral's Festival** brings oratorios, masses and cantatas to the cathedrals of Laon, Sens, Abbeville, Soissons and Compiègne. Free telephone information (02252523) and locally.

## Amsterdam

**Netherlands Philharmonic** with vocal soloists and the choir of the Netherlands Opera perform Brahms and Bruckner. Hartmut Haenchen conducts (Mon, Thurs). Concertgebouw (718 946).

## Brussels

**RTBF Symphony Orchestra** conducted by Andre Vandernoot with Uli Hoelscher (violin) play Mahler and Mozart (Fri). Maison de la Radio.

**Royal Flinders Philharmonic** conducted by Carlos Palta with the Emerson Quartet play Bruckner and Mozart (Wed). Palais des Beaux-Arts.

**Belgian National Orchestra** conducted by Ronald Zollman with Lazar Berman (piano) play Franck, Schmitt and Tchaikovsky (Thurs). Palais des Beaux-Arts.

## Antwerp

**Luciane Pavarotti** (tenor) in concert with Andrea Griminelli (flute), musical director Leone Magiera (Wed). Sportpaleis (part of the Flanders Festival).

## Berlin

**Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau** leader recital with pianist Vladimir Ashkenazy. Schumann's *Dichterliebe* (Thurs). Opera House.

## Frankfurt

**London Sinfonietta** conducted by Arturo Tamayo. Britwistle, Berio, Xenakis and Henze (Thurs). Concertgebouw (718 946).

## Milan

**Myung-whun Chung** conducting, with violinist Kyung Wha Chung, Weber, Bruch and Beethoven (Wed). Teatro Alla Scala (80.91.26).

## Stresa (Lake Maggiore)

**Settimane Musicali di Stresa.** Last week of festival offers concerts every day, including Shostakovich and pianist Paul Cerdovsky with the New York Amati Trio on Mon. Closing concert (Tue) conducted by Carlo Maria Giulini: the Scala Philharmonic playing Schumann, Ravel and Stravinsky (31.08.91).

## New York

**New York Philharmonic** conducted by Zubin Mehta with Florence Quivar (mezzo-soprano) and the Westminster Symphonic Choir directed by Joseph Flummerfelt. Mahler (Tue). Zubin Mehta conducting with Evgeny Kissin (piano). Schubert, Stravinsky, Chopin (Thurs). Avery Fisher Hall, Lincoln Center (674 6770).

## Washington

**National Symphony Orchestra** conducted by Leonard Slatkin. Copland, Prokofiev, Key, Schuman, Copland, Mussorgsky (Kander), Mussorgsky (Ravel) (Tue). Metislaw Rostropovich with Beaux Arts Trio, Sibelius, Artyomov (world premiere). Concert Hall, Kennedy Center (467 4600).

## Tokyo

**NHK Symphony Orchestra** conducted by Yujo Toyama. Takemitsu, Mahler, Handel, Busoni, Beethoven, Schumann (Thurs) (477 3241).

**Yuri Bashmet** (violin) with the NHK Chamber Ensemble. Bach, Hoffmeister, Mozart, Stravinsky Hall (Wed) (235 1661).

**Festival of Japanese Instruments**, 13 works for various instrumental combinations. Vario Hall (Wed) 618 4153.

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FINANCIAL TIMES

LONDON &amp; BRUSSELS







Mr Darrell Bevelhymmer was sitting in Dallas quietly going about his business of negotiating electricity contracts for Texas Utilities, the largest power company in Texas, when he received a surprise call. Would he mind travelling to Birmingham to help out with some negotiating there? No, not Birmingham, Alabama. Birmingham, England.

That was last autumn. Since then, the 43-year-old engineer and director of marketing services at Texas Utilities has been pitched into the middle of Britain's electricity privatisation programme, the most radical attempt to inject market forces into power generation ever attempted.

"The companies here are going through a traumatic change. In the US, electricity utilities are slowly evolving into a less regulated industry. Here, it's much more of a revolution than an evolution," Mr Bevelhymmer says of his 10-month stint working for Birmingham-based Midlands Electricity, one of the 12 regional electricity companies due to be privatised in November.

For much of that time, Mr Bevelhymmer has been eyeball-to-eyeball with fellow Texans. He has acted as Midlands' chief negotiator with Enron Power Corporation, the Houston-based company which spearheaded the proposal to build one of the world's biggest gas-fired power stations at the chemicals complex of Imperial Chemical Industries on Teesside.

The project is the biggest to emerge to challenge the duopoly of National Power and PowerGen, the two generating companies in England and Wales.

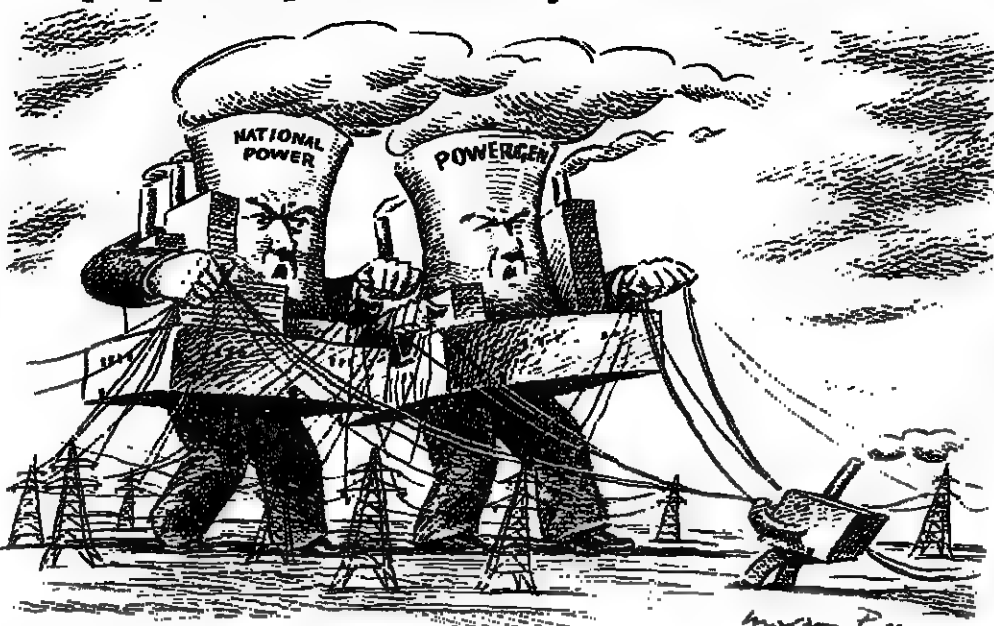
Final contracts for the £700m power station were signed last Monday evening at the offices of City solicitors, Slaughter & May.

A group led by Amoco and British Gas signed contracts guaranteeing the supply of gas, which will be brought to Teesside from the Everest and Lomond gasfields in the North Sea in a new pipeline. ICI agreed to take 387 megawatts of electricity, about 18 per cent of the station's 1,725 MW capacity, as well as steam for its Teesside plants. Enron, which will build and operate the power station, signed contracts with four regional electricity companies, including Midlands, for most of the remaining electricity.

Then there were contracts governing the site services to be provided by ICI for the power station; understandings about what will happen to the large quantities of gas not needed by the power station;

## Principal player in the electricity game

David Thomas looks at a UK power station proposal spearheaded by Enron of the US



and the equity split, with 50 per cent of the station owned by Enron and 50 per cent by the four electricity companies.

In the view of Mr Bryan Townsend, Midlands Electricity's chairman, this roll call of contracts (and there were many more) explains the demand for Mr Bevelhymmer's services. Only the US has experience of negotiating power supply contracts in anything like the competitive market being created in Britain.

Under the previous electricity regime, Mr Townsend argues, deciding to build a power station was the easy part: the Central Electricity Generating Board, the nationalised monopoly, took the decision and passed the costs through to its customers. The difficult part was building the station to time and cost.

In the new world, the problem lies in deciding on a project in the first place. There is no one player, like the CEB, to make that decision. "It is all a lot more difficult to put together," Mr Townsend argues. In particular:

● A gas supply contract has to be signed, so that the power station can determine the price of its electricity.

● A power purchasing agreement guaranteeing long-term customers for the station has to be signed, so that the venture can approach the banks for project financing.

To make matters worse, these deals have to be done simultaneously: no gas company will agree to build a pipeline to a new power station unless it knows the station has long-term customers; equally, no electricity supply company will sign long-term contracts to take power from an independent station unless it knows the station has supplies of cheap gas.

Once the decision to go ahead has been made, however, the difficulties are less severe. That is because no independent power operator in its right mind will experiment with state-of-the-art technology or unique designs. Enron will model the Teesside power station on a plant it built outside Texas City for Union Carbide.

Mr Robert Baldwin, president of Enron Power UK, said this would allow Enron to build the station in 30 months - quick by previous UK standards.

Before it got to this stage, however, Enron and the other principal players had to jump

through a large number of hoops. The story starts back in mid-1988 when Enron sent scouting missions to the UK to look for opportunities opened up by privatisation. Since Enron has specialised in the US in building power stations on large chemicals sites, it was natural for its emissaries to find their way to ICI.

For its part, the chemicals giant was interested in encouraging a gas pipeline. "We've known for a number of years that it would be good for us to have a gas supply straight to our plants in Teesside, rather than having to buy from British Gas," explains Mr Andy McLeod, ICI's Teesside-based operations manager for petrochemicals and plastics.

Enron's power station would create enough demand for gas to interest a North Sea operator in building a pipeline to Teesside. ICI also saw three other benefits from the project: cheap electricity for its Teesside complex; cheap steam for some of its plants, notably its nylon plant at Whitton; and a supply of gas and various feedstocks for its operations there.

The involvement of a heavyweight like ICI was enough to interest Amoco, operator of the

pipeline. Amoco says that it had been planning to run a pipeline to St Fergus in Scotland, but it was persuaded otherwise by the ICI-Enron approach. Since the 250-mile pipeline into Teesside, together with the development of the two gas fields, would cost more than £1bn, long discussions were needed to convince Amoco to go ahead.

Meanwhile, in the early part of 1989, Enron had been looking for a partner in the UK electricity industry to take that part of the station's output not needed by ICI. Initially, Enron's eye fell upon National Power, the largest generating company in the UK. Lengthy negotiations with National Power collapsed in February 1990. One problem was the generous offer tentatively made by Enron to ICI, which National Power thought would leave it with less scope to make money out of the project.

Luckily, Enron had been separately discussing other projects with three of the regional electricity companies - Midlands Electricity, South Wales Electricity and South Western Electricity. Making virtue out of necessity, Enron invited these three companies to join the Teesside venture, also extending the invitation to Northern Electric, the local electricity company.

Negotiations on the 30-30 contract involved in the project took up the early part of this year. One problem arose when ICI, preferring to invest in its core businesses, unexpectedly decided against taking an initial stake in the power station. It retains an option to take 10 per cent from Enron's equity when the plant opens in April 1993.

Some of the electricity companies were also dismayed at the deal offered to ICI. "In the sharing up of the benefits, the scale is probably on ICI's side," said one participant.

Yet Enron was also able to offer the four electricity companies cheap power. Enron's Mr Baldwin says the power station's total costs, including capital charges, will be lower than the running costs of other large UK power stations. The power station benefits from cheap gas, from sharing services with ICI and from exceptionally low staffing.

Yet it would be wrong to conclude that there will be a rash of similar projects. The Teesside venture has got this far thanks to an unusual concurrence of circumstances. Other large companies, such as British Petroleum and Shell, have considered similar projects and decided they have better ways to spend their money.

## LOMBARD

## Sanctions versus war - a sober view

By Samuel Brittan

In 1985, two American scholars, Gary Hufbauer and Jeffrey Schott, produced for the Washington Institute for International Economics a study of more than 100 cases of economic sanctions undertaken in aid of foreign policy goals. The examples go back to 1914; the great majority are after the Second World War. It is easy to mock the project as an instance of the American zeal for quantification. But the study does add something to an intuitive historical summary.

The criteria given for the success of sanctions are not ambitious. The authors emphasise that success "does not mean that the target country was vanquished." It may mean no more than that "sanctions made a modest contribution to the goal sought by the initiating country, and that the goal was in part realised."

The table shows that the "success" ratio has been low - achieved in only 36 per cent of the cases - and has fallen markedly since 1973. The detail is still more discouraging. For action against Iraq would not count in the table as "disruption of military adventures," as Iraq has already conquered Kuwait. It counts instead as aiming at "other major policy changes." Here, the success ratio is only 18 per cent.

The authors have several commandments for maximising the chances of success. The most cynical is: "Attack your allies, not your adversaries."

Unfortunately, many of the key failures were US attempts to induce countries such as Pakistan or Argentina to improve human rights or stop nuclear proliferation. The commandment most relevant today is Macbeth's: "If it were done when 'tis done, then 'twere well it were done quickly." A strategy of gradually turning the screws is likely to fail. Anything more than six months affords the target the chance to adjust - find new suppliers, build alliances, and mobilise opinion.

The final commandment - "Look before you leap" - says that the goals should be within reach, that sanctions should not be offset by other powers, and should not impose excessive costs on their initiators.

Unfortunately, problems blow up far too quickly for this counsel of perfection to be followed. Sanctions are often the minimum action required to show that the UN or the West, cares to make a stand. The advice applies more to military action if sanctions fail.

But having recorded these discouraging results, it is only right to emphasise that the authors of the study themselves believe that Iraq may be the exception that proves the rule. Indeed, they give the present sanctions a slightly more than 50 per cent chance of modest success, with a good deal of emphasis on the word "modest." Some seven in eight of the outside scholars whom they polled agreed.

In a follow-up paper, Iraq

ing Kuwait) of 40 per cent of gross national product. They also cite the limited proportion of trade subject to leakages, even including Iran, as well as Jordan and Yemen.

The assessment allows for leaks. Indeed, it assumes that food supplies will not be seriously blocked. The critical question is the extent to which spare parts can be supplied and oil sold, for instance, across the Iranian border.

The nearest parallel, according to Hufbauer, is the League of Nations' unsuccessful attempt to make Italy withdraw from Ethiopia in 1935-36. This time, however, the cord is much tighter. For the US was never even a member of the League. Germany gave Italy help; and British leaders, such as Baldwin, were half-hearted in their support for Eden.

He warns that success might be much less than a clear triumph for President Bush. He told me that a qualified victory, in which Iraq left Kuwait, but maintained links with the disputed Gulf islands and was forgiven its overseas debt, would still count as a success. Nor would the Emir necessarily return to Kuwait (Bush has spoken only of restoring the legitimate government).

But the limited nature of any likely success from sanctions does not constitute a case for military action instead. Mr Hufbauer reckons that political support for military action usually peaks even earlier, typically after about a month. He concedes that the interval before military action was much longer in the case of Suez and the Falklands as well as recently in Panama. On the other hand, western casualties were very much less than are feared in Iraq. Even if Saddam is defeated fairly quickly, 10,000 westerners might be killed, 5,000 of them hostages.

The moral that I would draw is certainly not to give in to Saddam, but to remember: the folly of demanding unconditional surrender; the need to remain in contact with the enemy and to give him - as in the Cuban crisis - a face-saving way of withdrawal. "Economic Sanctions Reconsidered, Institute for International Economics, 11 Dupont Circle, Washington, DC 20036"

The sanctions record	
Policy goals	Success ratio (% of total)
Modest changes	41
Destabilisation	55
Halt to military adventures	33
Mil. impairment	20
Other major policy changes	18
Total	36

Source: Brittan

## LETTERS

### A short-sighted shortage of ships

From Mr John Newman.

Sir, In the same issue (September 13) as your excellent feature about the catastrophic decline in British merchant shipping, a report on page 2 highlights US concerns about a shortage of roll-on, roll-off ships for transporting military equipment to the Gulf.

After years of seeking to abolish operating subsidies for its merchant ships, the US is now reconsidering this short-sighted policy.

The US merchant fleet is now so small that it cannot meet the needs of the US armed forces. Faced with this critical shortage, the US has

had to appeal to its allies to supply merchant ships for transporting military equipment and personnel to the Gulf.

Unfortunately for the Americans, this same narrow thinking which allowed its merchant fleet to decline has characterised official British policy towards the shipping industry. Since the Task Force sailed south to the Falklands only eight years ago, the British-registered merchant fleet has shrunk by nearly two-thirds - from 985 vessels to fewer than 350.

Now that our forces are heading east to meet a threat

in the Gulf, our merchant fleet is too small to provide the "fourth arm" of support it has traditionally given our armed forces.

UK seafarers can only hope that our Government will now realise the strategic danger of allowing the fleet to decline. It is not too late to introduce the measures we have sought over many years, which will restore the fortunes of the British merchant navy.

John Newman, General Secretary, Numan, Oceanic House, 750-760 High Road, Leytonstone, E11

### Country ways

From Mr David Sinclair.

Sir, Miss Ashbrook's letter (September 11) and Michael Stourton's article (September 13) highlight two differing views of the purpose of most rural footpaths. One is the "pleasant and enjoyable walk." The other is a convenient walk. Miss Ashbrook (like the Ramblers Association) quotes the law: a diversion must be "substantially less convenient to the public" for opposition to a proposed change to succeed.

For the likes of Michael Stourton, the concept of convenience being related to direct route is irrelevant. There can be few rural footpaths still being used to satisfy a social need. So landowners, local users, the Open Space Society and the Ramblers Association should together evolve a code to satisfy most landowners and most footpath users.

Miss Ashbrook's argument that we do not want to lose the ancient routes has no validity. Such routes are rarely "ancient." They have been evolving, and their direction and purpose changing, over the centuries. The route of a footpath has no intrinsic value, unlike, say, trees and buildings.

In my own experience of "moving" a footpath, I was appalled at the waste of ratepayers' and taxpayers' money by Ramblers Association opposition on the grounds that any diversion should be opposed.

In fact, as my local parish council and the elected and paid representatives of the county council recognise, my proposed deviation, while marginally longer, provides a better view of the surrounding countryside, a more rural route as it avoids a dwelling, a less muddy route in the winter and, because it follows a headland, a more identifiable route than the existing path.

If landowners would only recognise that the "professional" walker is probably a member of either of the two main organisations, and therefore sympathetic to the countryside, and if the two organisations could recognise the business needs of the modern farmer, then the two sides should be able to come together. Sensible diversions could be agreed which would be more convenient to the farmer and more enjoyable and pleasant to the walker. David Sinclair, Vine Farmhouse, Isington, Alton, Hampshire

### Reverse engineering could be misused

From Mr A.B. Cleaver.

Sir, Articles on the European Software Directive report the formation of the Computer Users of Europe Association, and the positive involvement of users in presenting their views on this issue. Your article "Computer users fight EC software directive" (September 10), and your editorial "Computer users on the war-path" (September 11), do, however, suggest misconceptions of the issue and of my company's position.

Both articles indicate that the directive is originally drafted carried the intention of banning the practice of "reverse engineering." In reality, however, the directive (in common with other recent legislation elsewhere) was silent on the issue.

Over the past 10 years, five EC member states (Denmark, France, Germany, Spain and the UK) have enacted legislation according copyright pro-

tection to computer programmes. Not one of these states has enacted a specific provision to permit reverse engineering, and if the EC directive does so it will be a world-wide precedent.

The European software industry is thriving and growing, and misuse of reverse engineering provisions would undermine this. There is a world of difference between legitimate analysis on the one hand, and copying for piracy purposes on the other - but both these could be described as reverse engineering.

Your editorial also implies that IBM has, in the past, inhibited the attachment of compatible systems by refusing or delaying permission for users or competitors to reverse engineer in order to design inter-operable systems.

The fact is that we respond immediately to all requests for information on IBM products in support of attachment

needed, our standard practice is to publish the information necessary to perform such activity in the documentation provided with our products.

While we believe that Open Systems Standards provide the best with the best guarantee of the ability to attach, we have also supported the idea that some limited provision for reverse engineering should be made within the directive to encapsulate principles of access.

Your suggestion that the "fair use" concept which exists within the present UK Copyright Act is a good basis for defining these exceptions is one which we have supported for some time.

I entirely agree with your view that this represents a simple, commonsensical solution to the debate.

A.B. Cleaver, IBM United Kingdom, PO Box 41, North Harbour, Portsmouth, Hampshire

### The debt burden has not yet been dealt with

From Mr Frank Judd.

Sir, Oxford is suffering and distress aggravated by the growing international debt burden of the poorest countries of the world. The responsibility for this situation lies partly with governments of industrialised nations, but their response has, until now, been disappointing.

The Toronto Accord, agreed two years ago, was intended to alleviate the mounting debt problems of the countries to which it applied. It has proved embarrassingly ineffective. In its first year, it provided just

\$50m of debt relief to sub-Saharan Africa - considerably less than was provided to that region by British non-governmental organisations alone.

This inadequacy was recognised at this year's Houston summit of finance ministers of the Group of Seven nations, which said a new debt initiative was needed for the low and middle income countries. It was also recognised that further efforts should be made to ease the debt burden of low income countries.

Oxford urges that this important issue be taken forward at the Commonwealth finance

ministers meeting today, and at the International Monetary Fund and World Bank AGMs at the end of September.

Since Mr Lawson, the then UK Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed the plan on which the Toronto Accord was based, we hope that the UK will now be able to take a lead in proposing a new initiative in response to the Houston summit, this time with the hope of more effective, lasting action to the benefit of both low and middle income countries.

Frank Judd, Director, Oxford, 274 Banbury Road, Oxford

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**INSIDE**

**Results spell gloom for UK economy**

Fears that the UK economy is moving into recession have been fuelled by recent weeks by a crop of worse-than-expected company results. And the stock market will inevitably feel the effects. Market strategists have found ammunition for their views that earnings forecasts must be cut in the current climate. Maggie Urry reports. Page 22

**Willis caught in a trap**

Mr Roger Elliott (left) arrived back in London last week to what a colleague described as his "worst nightmare." The chairman of insurance broker Willis Faber found that the planned merger with Corcoran and Black of the US was being challenged by an alternative, higher offer. The odds are that Willis will have to stump up a lot more cash if its deal is to survive, reports Richard Lapper. Page 22

**An exercise in faith**

Chile is on the brink of solving its debt problems. Today begins the final rescheduling exercise with creditor banks in New York. But the talks will not be easy. The Government is seeking fresh money to cover an expected balance of payments gap next year. "We have had nothing but praise... for the way we have... managed our external debt," says Eduardo Aninat, Chilean debt negotiator. "If they are not willing to lend to Chile, what hope is there for the rest of Latin America?" Page 23

**Little acclaim for the matador**

The Spanish matador bond market is reopening. Yet these peseta-denominated bonds issued by foreign borrowers in the Spanish market are not the draw they once were. Rising yields in Ecu and D-Mark bonds have lessened Spain's appeal as a high-yielding European bond market. Tracy Corrigan looks at the reasons behind the decline. Page 25

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**Pact with unions saves NY Post**

By Janet Bush in New York

THE loss-making New York Post, the most sensational of the city's three fiercely competitive tabloids, appears to be stumbling back from the precipice of closure and hits the news stands today after a tentative weekend agreement with the paper's 10 unions.

The uneasy pact, reached after hours of negotiations in Manhattan's Sheraton Centre Hotel, is still contingent on the vote of the Newspaper Guild, which represents more than 350 journalists and workers in advertising and

circulation. The guild has asked its members to vote on their part of the deal today.

Mr Barry Lipton, leader of the guild, said he and his negotiating team would recommend the agreement as the only way to save jobs. "It's the very best we could do. I hope that the sense of the membership is to swallow what may be a bitter pill."

Union leaders said that the guild proposal included a four-day working week which would mean a 20 per cent pay cut. That would be a smaller con-

cession than the Post's management was looking for last week when it threatened to close the paper. Mr Lipton said that the management had been demanding a 46 per cent cut in wages and benefits from guild members.

Mr Peter Kalikow, owner of the New York Post since 1988 when he bought the paper from Mr Rupert Murdoch, declined to estimate how many of the paper's 900 union jobs would be lost through the agreement but said that the settlement would include some union ownership

of Post stock and a board seat. Public figures have watched the negotiations with interest, concerned both about the possible death of a New York institution and about job losses in a depressed local economy.

Democratic Mayor David Dinkins sat in on the talks for an hour on Friday night, lending a hand despite the Post having been no friend to his party over the years.

And Cardinal O'Connor, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of New York, said late on Friday that he was "praying like mad."



Mayor David Dinkins: aided newspaper foe

**Battle for the skies rages over Interflug**

David Goodhart and Paul Betts examine the BA/Lufthansa fight for the E German airline

THE DEVELOPING dog-fight between Lufthansa and British Airways over control of the East German airline, Interflug, and BA's overall presence in the German market, is shaping up into a classic conflict between the rights of a national carrier and the principle of competition.

By the end of the year the conflict is likely to drag in the British and German governments and might become a test for Brussels' new competition rules.

It could get messy. Both airlines carry a lot of clout with their respective governments. Bonn and London are not exactly the best of friends. Lufthansa is offering to buy a 26 per cent stake in Interflug, which would give it a blocking minority of the shares, while BA is keen to purchase up to 49 per cent of the East German airline.

The BA position in the German market has also been dependent on special rights inherited as a victor power in 1945 - which rankles with the Lufthansa chairman, Mr Heinz Ruhnau, and his equally nationalistic boss, Mr Friedrich Zimmermann, the Transport Minister.

The BA strategy is clear. It wants to hold onto as much of its Berlin/West Germany service as possible, despite the ending of Allied rights. For 40 years these banned Lufthansa from Berlin and limited the Berlin/West Germany service to British, French and American airlines. More significantly, BA sees Berlin becoming the most important east-west business and transport hub in Europe, attracting as many as 20m passengers a year by the end of the century. It is therefore interested in developing, through a close association with Interflug, a significant European base out of Berlin similar to the one being developed in Brussels with KLM Royal Dutch Airlines and Sabena of Belgium.

Britain also argues that the single market will eventually introduce cabotage - the right of



Ruhnau: determined to get Lufthansa back into Berlin

foreign carriers to run domestic flights - after 1988. It says that it is therefore perverse to abolish a little island of cabotage in 1991, even if the circumstances of its creation no longer apply.

The argument is really about take-off and landing slots. If BA leaves Berlin over the next three years, as the Bonn Transport Ministry proposes, it would not then be in a position to command the best take-off and landing slots after 1993.

The British side also claims that it has the best cost structure of any large airline in Europe. It says that when Berlin prices are liberalised, it will be able to offer a more competitive service than Lufthansa, with one of the worst cost structures in Europe.

Lufthansa will be allowed to fly to Berlin from October 28. Including the Pan Am service, which Lufthansa recently acquired for \$160m, and its 49 per cent stake in the Air France Euro-Berlin service, it will take almost 80 per cent of the Berlin market. That, says the UK, should satisfy the German airline, especially as there will be new flights and destinations - mainly to East Germany - which BA will not compete on.

Lufthansa is not, however, satisfied. It argues that BA will have a unique advantage pre-1993 which Lufthansa does not possess in the UK's domestic market. The Bonn Transport Ministry also has a less liberal interpretation of Brussels' 1993 air transport lib-

eralisation plans, and questions whether cabotage will be introduced in the EC that year.

For years, Mr Ruhnau's main ambition has been to get Lufthansa back into Berlin. He is understood to have approached BA three years ago to negotiate a deal to enable Lufthansa to serve Berlin. Instead, he clinched a deal with Air France by taking a large minority stake in the Euro-Berlin airline 51 per cent owned by the French carrier.

He also forged a wide-ranging co-operation pact with Air France which has worried EC competition officials and other international carriers; and, as Air France consolidated its hold on its own domestic market by taking control of UTA, the independent French long-haul carrier, and Air Inter, the domestic French airline, Lufthansa turned its sights on Interflug to consolidate its own position in the new, broader German market.

In the face of this growing Franco-German partnership, BA decided to have a crack of its own at Interflug and talks were initiated between the East German and British airlines. These were interrupted when Interflug, apparently under pressure from Lufthansa, claimed it could not provide BA with the necessary commercial information to help the UK carrier decide on taking a stake in the East German airline.

BA, however, made it clear that it was seriously interested in acquiring a stake of up to 49 per cent in Interflug. It also wanted to develop a close partnership with the East German airline somewhat similar to the Sabena World Airways partnership in Belgium. Aero Lloyd, a small West German charter airline, may be joining BA's initiative.

The West German Civil Office in Berlin has expressed its concern about publicly-owned Lufthansa's domestic monopoly powers which would be enhanced by a takeover of Interflug. The East German Treuhander, the trust which owns the country's indus-

try, has also expressed reservations about the Lufthansa offer.

The Cartel Office does not give a definitive opinion until the end of October. But if it rejects the Lufthansa offer to buy a 26 per cent stake, it could unleash a political storm, especially if BA should step in.

Public opinion in Germany would side with Lufthansa, which says it is merely reuniting what was once a single airline. One German business commentator has written that success for the BA plan would be contrary to the spirit of last year's peaceful revolution in East Germany.

Mr Ruhnau, a former Social Democrat state secretary in the Transport Ministry, would relish the conflict. He has an abiding contempt for the British political establishment and good contacts in his old ministry, which is sure to back him in a political fight. The Economics Ministry, theoretically the champion of competition, might prefer the BA option in principle, but would probably have to bow to political pressure and overturn the Cartel Office.

At that point, Brussels - in the guise of Britain's EC competition commissioner - might want to get involved. BA has already filed a formal complaint with the EC calling on the Commission to investigate Lufthansa's activities in Berlin and East Germany.

BA is the subject of a Commission investigation over its Sabena World Airways venture with KLM. However, it apparently believes it stands on firmer ground than its German rival since the UK Monopolies and Mergers Commission has cleared the Sabena venture while the German Cartel Office is objecting to the Lufthansa-Interflug deal.

But the struggle for Interflug and Berlin has only just begun. All the signs suggest that it will intensify in coming weeks and risks turning into a bitter Anglo-German political confrontation.

**Britain sues BAe and Rover for £44m**

By Kevin Done in London

THE BRITISH Government is suing British Aerospace and Rover to recover £44.4m (\$83m) in state subsidies made illegally to the two companies at the time of BAe's controversial takeover of the UK car group in 1988.

The Department of Trade and Industry, which made the secret concessions to BAe and Rover, said the High Court had issued writs last week requiring BAe to pay back £42.9m and the Rover Group a further £1.5m.

The action has been forced on the Government by the ruling of the European Commission earlier this year that the secret financial concessions made to BAe amounted to illegal state aid.

The payments sought from BAe comprise:

- £33.4m calculated to be the benefit derived by BAe of deferring the £150m payment for Rover from August 1988 to the end of March this year;
- £2.5m paid as a contribution to BAe's costs in the takeover;
- £1.5m paid as a grant to Rover to cover its costs incurred in the acquisition.

BAe is expected to take its own action in the High Court to try to delay the writs being put into effect, pending the outcome of its appeal to the European Court of Justice against the Commission's original ruling. It is expected to lodge an appeal with the European Court this week.

The DTI said: "The Commission's decision is valid until the European Court determines otherwise. The Government's obligations require us to abide by that decision, which is not prejudiced by any appeal against it." The Government's embarrassment over the BAe/Rover affair will be prolonged by the continuing investigations of two powerful Commons select committees, the Public Accounts Committee and the Trade and Industry Committee.

The Conservative-dominated Trade and Industry Committee said earlier this summer that it was demanding further evidence after receiving a copy of a letter sent by the DTI to BAe at the time of the Rover sale.

The letter stated that the Government was obliged by its agreement with the European Commission not to offer further aid to Rover.

It then added: "This provision does not in any way constrain BAe in respect of its non-Rover Group businesses from seeking financial assistance from the Government... any such application would be sympathetically considered."

**Economics Notebook**

**Confusion reigns on road to EMU**

FOR YEARS the European Community has worried about the possible emergence of a "two-speed" Europe - one with a two-speed drive towards economic and monetary union (EMU).

This month's meetings of EC economics and finance ministers in Rome and central bank governors in Basle presented very different pictures of progress towards EMU.

The ministers' meeting nine days ago uncovered doubts and uncertainties that have thrown the EC Commission's hopes for a "fast track" move towards union into apparent disarray. By contrast, the central bankers, meeting in Basle last Tuesday, surprised themselves and many observers by completing most of the work on the statutes of the proposed European central bank which will be part of the final stage of EMU.

As the central bankers were also at the Rome meeting, there is reason to be confused about where EMU is going. Before the summer it all seemed so simple. The debate was still very much influenced by the report of the Delors Committee, which set out a three-stage route to EMU in April 1989. Stage one began on July 1 with all EC members committed to its programme of joining the exchange rate mechanism of the European Monetary System (EMS) and eliminating exchange controls. Stage one is open-ended, but all countries except Britain accept the goal of stage three with a single currency and central bank.

Now the politicians have disagreed about how to move ahead, after earlier generating impressive political momentum behind the Delors Committee's plans. The technicians - represented by the central bank governors - have apparently shed past reservations

about EMU and now seem united in support of a constitution for the key institution in an eventual union.

The agreement among the central bankers is impressive. After the Basle meeting, Mr Karl Otto Pöhl, the Bundesbank president who also chairs the EC central bank governors' committee, said this week was "practically all basic points" about the bank.

The governors agreed that the bank should make price stability its first priority, be independent from individual

**Ministers ran into difficulties as they faced the political problems of ceding control over their economies in any move to the institutional phase of EMU**

governments and also refrain from monetary financing of budget deficits. The European Central Bank - the governors rejected the title Eurofed - would have a leadership structure similar to that of the Bundesbank, with a central executive board and a council on which all the EC central bank governors would be represented.

Some difficult problems remain, including the size of the bank's capital, how this should be distributed among the central banks and how far foreign exchange reserves should be pooled. But Mr Pöhl and other EC central bankers appeared confident last week that the statutes could be completed in November for the December intergovernmental conference on EMU in Rome.

The recent ministerial meeting in Rome, by contrast, witnessed disarray over the timing of progress to EMU. Only France, Italy, Belgium and Denmark gave wholehearted backing to Mr Jacques Delors,

the president of the EC Commission. He wanted to advance from the present first stage of EMU to stage two - which starts the institutional process of greater integration - at the beginning of 1993, and to stage three with its common currency and central bank soon after.

Mr Pöhl, influenced by Germany's difficult experience with monetary union, voiced his concerns about early institutional changes to Europe's monetary system in a speech in Munich before the Rome

meeting. Spain put forward an alternative to Mr Delors' fast track plan in Rome, that envisages moving to stage two at the beginning of 1994. Stage two would then last for an extended period of five or six years to enable EC economies to converge before EMU's third and final stage.

An official from one of the "fast track" countries last week described the Rome meeting as a "disaster".

The UK delegation was seen to be in high spirits as these differences emerged. It was particularly buoyed by the decision of Mr Carlos Solchaga, the Spanish Finance Minister, to incorporate aspects of British plans for a "hard Ecu" parallel currency and a European Monetary Fund into his stage two proposals. However, Mr John Major, the UK Chancellor, would be well advised not to pitch his hopes too high: none of Britain's EC partners have bought the hard Ecu as an alternative to a single currency or central bank.

As important as the timing problem was the total confusion that reigned over the content of any move beyond the present stage one of EMU.

Stage two, which would prepare the way to the single currency and central bank, was only vaguely outlined in the original Delors Committee report. Mr Delors' later fast track idea was an attempt to skate over this deficiency. One irony is that the British hard Ecu plan is the most clearly formulated proposal for the contents of stage two.

The ministers ran into difficulties last week as they came up against the highly political problems of ceding control over their economies in any move to the institutional phase of EMU. The central bankers were operating on a more theoretical plane, drawing up plans for a world in which EMU would be a political fact of life. They made the most of their freedom from daily political pressures to draft statutes that give the bank as much independence as the Bundesbank.

The travails of the ministers are the more significant indicator of where progress towards EMU stands. The past week's events have greatly increased the importance of a special meeting of EC leaders that will be held in October to discuss EMU.

There, the key role will probably fall to Mr Helmut Kohl, the German Chancellor. His choice will be between backing Mr Pöhl, the defender of the D-Mark with whom his relations have often been cool, and Mr Delors, who is much more to Mr Kohl's liking, but whose fast track plans for EMU could pose risks for the German economy.

**Peter Norman**

The economic diary can be found in section one, Page 15

**Institutional investors gloomy over UK economy**

By Peter Martin, Financial Editor, in London

INSTITUTIONAL investors in the UK are much more pessimistic about the economic outlook than before the Gulf crisis, according to a recent survey. On balance, however, they intend to continue adding to their holdings of UK shares.

The survey, covering 90 investors handling funds worth £310bn (\$583bn) - was carried out last week by Gallup for Smith New Court, the investment house.

In July, 70 per cent of investors surveyed expected the UK economic situation to get better during the next 12 months. In September, 69 per cent expected the outlook to stay the same or worsen.

Fund managers have grown steadily gloomier about the outlook for dividend and earnings growth. In July, they expected UK earnings per share to grow by 4.5 per cent in 1990. By September, the figure had dropped to 3.1 per cent. The outlook for 1991 had also worsened, from 5.1 per cent to 3.4 per cent.

Despite the pessimism about the UK economy, more investors, on balance, expect to raise holdings of UK equities than of any other asset.

On balance, investors expect the FT-SE index to rise during the next three months, while they expect the Dow-Jones Industrial Average and the Nikkei index to fall. An overwhelming majority of investors surveyed expect the FT-SE to rise on a 12-month view.

At present, the investors surveyed have just over half their assets in UK equities and the rest in property, gilts and cash.

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## COMPANIES AND FINANCE

## Gloomier outlook forecast after interim setbacks

By Maggie Urry

A GLOOMIER outlook for the UK stock market is being predicted by brokers following worse than expected results from companies recently reporting half-year profits. These have fuelled fears that the British economy is moving into recession.

A heavy crop of interim results over the last couple of weeks has reinforced market strategists' views that company earnings forecasts need to be cut.

Reductions in estimates are being made across the board, not only for 1990 but for 1991 as well.

Market watchers point in particular to BTR's results last week, which showed a rise in pre-tax profits of 6.6 per cent to £330m, much smaller than analysts had expected. One said: "that is being taken as indicative of the widespread problems which lesser companies are facing."

Mr Bob Semple, market strategist at County NatWest WoodMac, said: "You cannot be as optimistic about the market as you were a month ago."

Last week analysts slashed forecasts for ICI - which

reported a fall in first-half profits in July - and BTR. As leading industrial groups they are regarded as representative of economic activity.

Mr Semple said that the downgrading of ICI and BTR at his firm were "chunky revisions". Forecasts for both have been cut by hundreds of millions of pounds.

Investors are particularly looking at the dividends companies are paying. Mr Simon Clegg, managing director of UK research at Hoare Govett, is looking for dividends to rise faster than earnings, as some companies maintain or even increase payouts even where earnings have fallen.

In the past companies have tried to please investors with dividend increases because of the fear of being taken over. That motivation had gone, Mr Semple believed.

However, the stock market is still rewarding companies, which raise their dividends, with higher share prices. BTR last week increased its interim by slightly less than the rise in earnings per share it achieved and saw its shares fall. By contrast, P&O, the shipping, con-

struction and service group, increased its interim despite a fall in earnings and its shares went up in response.

Mr Christopher Bull, BTR finance director, said that the group aims to keep its dividend cover at between 2.4 and 2.5 times. He said BTR increases its dividend in line with the rise in earnings per share, rounding up or down to the nearest 0.1p.

ICI maintained its dividend in July, and since then its shares have fallen 25 per cent.

FT Stock Indices on Page 31

a larger drop than for the market as a whole. Higher oil prices as a result of the Gulf crisis have an especially severe impact on chemical groups.

Mr Philip Rogerson, ICI's general manager, finance, said the group had no regrets about not increasing the interim dividend. He said that the group looked at the total annual dividend, rather than the interim in isolation.

P & O said that its dividend increase reflected its view of the medium and long-term outlook.

## Turkish group is leading bidder for B&amp;C Merchant Bank

By Richard Waters

A TURKISH industrial group has emerged as the leading bidder for British & Commonwealth Merchant Bank, the subsidiary of the B&C financial services group which collapsed earlier this year.

Cukurova Group, a diversified conglomerate with interests in banking, textiles, the motor industry, machinery and contracting services, made the highest offer among several received for the bank when the deadline for bids passed ten days ago.

A sale would mean an early end to the difficulties of B&C's many private depositors, whose money has been frozen since the bank went into administration earlier this year.

Bank of England approval for a Cukurova bid may be difficult to obtain, however. As long ago as November 1987 Mr Robin Leigh-Pemberton, governor of the Bank, made it clear that the Bank was wary of allowing non-banking groups to own UK banks.

The experience of B&C itself, which suffered a liquid-

ity crisis because of problems in a non-banking part of the B&C group, is likely to have reinforced the Bank's views.

Further doubts about Cukurova's suitability as a parent will be prompted by the experience of two of its three Turkish banking subsidiaries. Yapi ve Kredi, which had 588 branches at the end of last year, suffered problems in the mid-1980s, and despite a recovery, managed a return on assets of less than one per cent last year. Pamukbank is also thought to have been in difficulties in the last few years.

If the Cukurova bid fails, it seems likely that B&C will face liquidation. Other bids for the bank are understood to have been low, reflecting the fact that the bank's goodwill has been wiped out by the administration, and that any bidder will have to provide considerable liquidity to support the bank if, as expected, there is an outflow of deposits once the shutters are raised.

Latest information from B&C indicates a healthy surplus.

## Willis caught in a bear trap

Richard Lapper in London and Nikki Tait in New York on Roger Elliott's 'worst nightmare'

Mr Roger Elliott, chairman of Willis, the world's fifth biggest insurance and reinsurance broker, finds himself between the proverbial rock and a hard place. He flew back from the annual get-together of the world's reinsurance community in Monte Carlo last week to what one former business colleague described as his "worst nightmare".

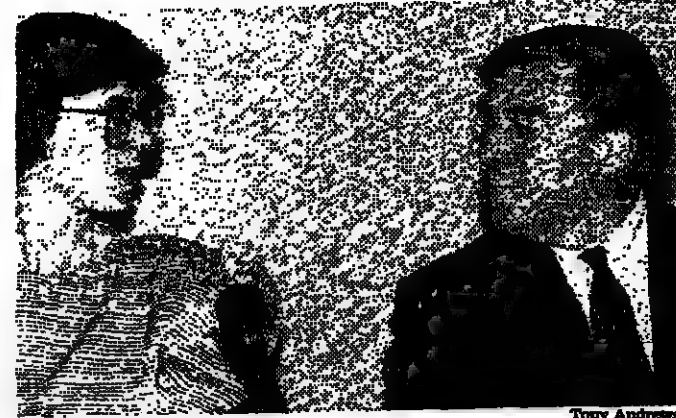
Three months ago Willis controversially ended its decades-old relationship with the world's fourth biggest insurance broker, Johnson & Higgins, in order to merge with one of J&H's most important US competitors, Corroon and Black. Last Wednesday, with documents listing the details of the proposed Willis Corroon merger in the public domain and the deal at its most vulnerable stage, Mr Elliott found himself potentially gapped by one of the toughest men in US insurance, Mr Patrick Ryan, head of Aon Corporation.

Mr Ryan, a self-made man, owns a 13 per cent stake in Aon's insurance holding group, worth over \$300m (\$161m) and has among other interests a 20 per cent stake in the Chicago Bears American Football team.

Mr Ryan has said that he is prepared to offer \$40 a share for Corroon, nearly a third more than the \$30 a share proposed in Willis' all-paper offer, which would have given the London broker a 60-40 majority in the new company. Corroon's senior management is reported to be unenthusiastic about the Aon approach, which, if consummated, would link it to Aon's insurance subsidiary, Rollins Burdick Hunter, creating a giant all-American partnership.

But the Corroon board may be hard-pressed to reject the offer and the odds are that Willis will have to stump up a lot more cash if its deal is to survive. One prominent London broker summed it up by saying: "Willis is in a corner. Either they shrink into their shell or come out fighting."

In the intensely competitive world of international reinsurance broking Willis, one of the most prestigious of Lloyd's brokers, risks finding itself bereft of a solid and reliable US con-



Jennifer Cartnell, vice-president of Corroon, and Roger Elliott

nection at a time when the world's big three - Marsh McLellan, Alexander and Alexander and Sedgwick Group - are pressing ahead with a genuinely international broking presence.

All three groups are the result of mergers in the 1970s and early 1980s between US retail brokers (brokers handling corporate and other commercial insurance accounts with direct insurers) and London-based brokers that have historically specialised in placing reinsurance, as well as marine and aviation insurance, in the Lloyd's and London market.

The rationale for these moves was the fact that, while over 50 per cent of the world's insurance premiums originated from the sophisticated US market, London has traditionally been the centre of the international reinsurance market.

In the late 1980s all these leading transatlantic groups began to establish international operations, with branches in Europe and the Far East directly under their control. The combination of centralised control and increasingly sophisticated technology and information systems provided the basis for the development of what analysts are labelling "mega brokers," which serve the insurance and risk financing needs of international companies that have themselves become more and more globalised.

Insurance analysts believe that, once established, these mega brokers will tend to outpace their erstwhile rivals, who will be forced to fall back on specialist niches. A merger with Corroon would have made Willis Corroon number four in the world and given it the chance of developing its international presence elsewhere to compete as a mega broker.

If the merger fails, the "mega broker option is dead," suggests analyst Tom Bennett, an analyst with Banque Paribas Capital Markets. Willis's problem has not been an absence of international links. In fact, Willis was one of the first of the London brokers to develop US connections. Willis initially obtained agreement from the New York broker Johnson & Higgins to handle all business placed in the London market in the 1980s.

Thereafter, four successive Willis chairmen tried to press J&H into a closer relationship, only to be rebuffed by the US

company's desire to remain private. Hence the eventual jettisoning of J&H in favour of the Corroon & Black merger. The deal, originally agreed in early June, was welcomed by both parties. Ms Jennifer Cartnell, first vice-president of Corroon, described the deal as "strategically brilliant".

But although Corroon's management might prefer a link to Willis, the group's shareholders might not necessarily agree. Aon is a rapidly growing group of considerable potential. Mr Patrick Ryan, its chairman, started his business career by setting up a one-man concern selling extended warranty insurance covers to motor dealers in the mid-west. In 1982 Ryan acquired Coastal Insurance, a health accident and life insurer. Combined had been founded about half a century earlier by W. Clement Stone, a colourful character, now in his eighties, well known in the US as a proponent of "Positive Mental Attitude".

The group grew rapidly, basing its strategy on targeting relatively small companies in cities of 50,000 or less or suburban areas, and with companies' permission separately selling life and health policies to their employees. Its distribution network depends on a large door-to-door sales force. Since 1982 Aon has made a series of acquisitions, including the direct insurance brokers, Rollins Burdick Hunter Group, which in turn acquired the sizeable Barry, Martin & Fay brokerage business in mid-1989 and Martin Boyer Company this year.

By 1989 Aon's total assets amounted to \$9.3bn, when it posted profits of \$234m. International operations, principally in the UK and Japan, generated \$26m of revenue in 1989. Also among Aon's overseas interests is a 40% stake in the London broker Nicholson Chamberlain Collis, a reinsurance broker formed in March 1988.

In London Nicholson Chamberlain Collis would be the most obvious beneficiary of an Aon takeover of Corroon & Black, a fact that would be particularly galling for Willis, since several of the Nicholson group's founders were former employees of Stewart Wrightson, a broking business acquired by Willis in 1987.

LAST WEEK'S BORDER DEALS				
BIDDER/INVESTOR	TARGET	SECTOR	VALUE	COMMENT
Escolab (US) Hentel (W Ger)	Düsseldorf joint venture	Cleaning & chemicals	£100m + shares	Escolab also buying Hentel non-European firms
Barclays Bank (UK) Hertle (W Ger)	Credit card JV	Financial services	N/A	Barclays Gar push continues
Asahi (Japan)	Elders IXL (Australia)	Brewing	£420m	Cash inject for Elliott Harlin
Brook Opportunities (UK)	Manpower UK subs	Employment agencies	£108m	Manpower goes pre-1987 shape
Federal-Mgn (US)	Glyco (W Germany)	Bearings manufacture	N/A	FM has 60% and wants 100%
Mil (Italy)	Pechelbronn (France)	Holding co	£120m	Agnelli vehicle buys 7%
Bute Mining (UK)	VAM & Perseverance (both Australia)	Gold mining	£31m	Attempt to form mid-sized group
Fidenza Vetraria (Italy)	Holophane (France)	Pressed-glass products	£21.7m + dividend	Sale by Thorn EMI (UK)
Asea Brown Boveri (Sweden-Switzerland)	Cincinnati Milacron robot business (US)	Robotics manufacture	N/A	Subject to US govt approval
Iveco (Italy)	Enesa (Spain)	Truck & bus manufacture	N/A	Surprise: Iveco beats Daimler

Source: FT Mergers &amp; Acquisitions International

Surprises punctuated the week, writes Brian Bollen. Biggest was the A\$960m purchase by Japanese brewer Asahi of 19.9 per cent of Australian conglomerate Elders IXL, owner of Foster's amber beer and Courage in the UK. The sale by embattled beer and pub entrepreneur John Elliott's private vehicle Harlin Holdings - at a huge 38 per cent premium - marks the first significant international expansion by a Japanese brewer. By at least postponing cash flow problems, the injection of funds should also help reassure bankers worried about Harlin's debt servicing capability.

Milwaukee-based employment agency Manpower's agreement to sell five UK subsidiaries to a management team for £108m advanced its plans to revert to being a wholly US concern. Manpower will keep 15 per cent of the new unit, but has essentially now rid itself of the companies which comprised Blue Arrow before it bought Manpower in 1987. Mil, the Agnelli group of Italy's main investment vehicle, deepened its involvement in France and increased the overseas book value of its portfolio to a quarter of total investments by buying 7 per cent of Pechelbronn, the main holding company of Groupe Worms.

Differing views on the outlook for widespread use of robots in production lie behind ABB Robotics' proposed acquisition of the robotics business of Cincinnati Milacron. Barclays Bank described its joint venture with retail store group Hertle as its most ambitious move yet into Germany's personal financial services sector.

## CONTRACTS &amp; TENDERS



REPUBLIC OF TURKEY  
ISTANBUL METROPOLITAN MUNICIPALITY  
ISKI  
ISTANBUL WATER AND SEWERAGE ADMINISTRATION  
GENERAL DIRECTORATE

KÜÇÜKÇEKMECE BIOLOGICAL TREATMENT PLANT  
CONSTRUCTION PRE-QUALIFICATION ANNOUNCEMENT

ISKI, Istanbul Water and Sewerage Administration intends to issue Tender documents for the construction of the first stages of sewage treatment works at Küçükçekmece. The treatment works will be the subject of civil, building, mechanical and electrical works. The successful Tenderers will be required to commission the treatment works on completion, to operate them for a period of 3 years and to train ISKI personnel in all aspects of their operation, management and maintenance.

The works have been the subject of detailed design by international consultants Watson Motor Temel, an association of Watson Hawksley, Motor Columbus and Temel Mühendislik.

The works comprise full biological treatment and sludge treatment and dewatering. The first stages each have a nominal capacity of 1 million population equivalent.

Companies or Joint Ventures wishing to be considered for prequalification must submit the necessary documentation by midday on 10 October 1990. Further information on prequalification criteria, the format for submission of the information required and the treatment works components are available from ISKI. Requests for these may be made by telex or fax and will be transmitted to companies by fax according to the request of applicants. Only prequalification submissions from companies or Joint Ventures requesting this information will be considered.

ISKI Genel Müdürlüğü  
Aksaray  
İstanbul  
TÜRKİYE  
Telex No: 31293 ISU TR  
Fax No: (90) 1-588.39.18

Application should be headed  
"Küçükçekmece Sewage Treatment  
Works - Prequalification" and  
addressed to:

## TENDER No. 170990

Petroleos Mexicanos, the Mexican National Oil Agency, invites all interested parties to bid for engineering, procurement and construction works for the conversion of a semi-regenerative naphtha reforming unit into a continuous catalyst regeneration unit.

Information related to this project is available from:

Pemex Services Europe Limited  
4 & 5 Grosvenor Place, 2nd Floor  
London SW1X 7HB  
Tel: 071-823-2242  
Contact: Gustavo Mohar  
Miguel Bueno

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de Trading  
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La SONATRAD met en adjudication publique la fourniture du matériel susmentionné destiné à l'ONATRA. Les fournitures seront financées par un prêt accordé par la B.A.D. au Conseil Exécutif de la République du Zaïre.

## 2. DESCRIPTION DES FOURNITURES

Le présent appel d'offres consiste en un seul lot unique indivisible portant sur la fourniture C/FM/TADI, pour le compte de l'ONATRA, des pièces suivantes:

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Sous-lot 1.B.

Rechanges pour wagons (136 roues mono-bloques, 2400 bandages, 360 portes métalliques, profilés et tôles, rechanges bogies et freins à vide).

## 3. RETRAIT DU DOSSIER D'APPEL D'OFFRES

Le dossier d'appel d'offres établi en français, peut être obtenu contre remise d'un chèque barré d'un montant de 1.500 dollars US ou équivalent au taux du jour d'achat, à partir du 18 juillet 1990 aux adresses suivantes de la SONATRAD:

1. BUILDING C.C.I.Z. - 22e NIVEAU

B.P. 15.711 KINSHASA I

TELEPHONE: 34.160 à 164

TELEFAX: 30.592

REPUBLIQUE DU ZAIRE

2. 38, RUE SOUVERAINE - 1050 BRUXELLES

TELEPHONE: 02/512.07.70

TELEX: 26.444 SINRAD B

TELEFAX: 02/512.23.79

ROYAUME DE BELGIQUE

3. 225, AVENUE MSURI

B.P. 1573 LUBUMBASHI

TELEPHONE: 22.0371 - 22.5249

REPUBLIQUE DU ZAIRE

## 4. PARTICIPATION

La participation à la concurrence est ouverte à égalité de condition à tout fournisseur ressortissant des pays membres de la B.A.D. et des pays participant au F.A.D.

## 5. REMISE ET OUVERTURE DES OFFRES

Les offres seront remises sous double enveloppe cachetée, par envoi postal recommandé ou par porteur contre accusé de réception, à:

SOCIÉTÉ NATIONALE DE TRADING "SONATRAD"

BUILDING C.C.I.Z. - 22e NIVEAU

B.P. 15.711 KINSHASA I

avant le 18 octobre 1990 à 10 heures locales, date et heure auxquelles il sera procédé à l'ouverture des offres en la salle de réunion du 22e niveau Building C.C.I.Z. non loin de l'hôtel INTERCONTINENTAL DE KINSHASA.

## THE NEW FACE OF BRITISH BROADCASTING

The Financial Times proposes to publish this survey on:  
2nd October 1990  
For a full editorial proposal and advertisement details,  
please contact:

Nerille Woodcock  
on 071 873 3365

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Notice is hereby given that the Rate of Interest for the Interest Period from 16th September, 1990 to 16th March, 1991 is 7.45% per annum interest payable on 16th March, 1991 will amount to £3,942,429 per £100,000,000 principal amount of the Notes.

Agent Bank

The Long-Term Credit Bank of Japan, Limited

Tokyo

## EUROPEAN

INVESTMENT BANK

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FLOATING RATE

NOTES DUE 2008

In accordance with the provisions of the notes, notice is hereby given that for the interest period September 17, 1990 to March 15, 1991 the notes will carry an interest rate of 8 1/4% per annum. Interest payable on the relevant interest payment date March 15, 1991 will amount to USD 40.40 - per USD 1,000 note.

Agent Bank:

Banque Paribas

Luxembourg

## PNC Financial Corp

US\$100,000,000

Floating rate subordinated notes

due 1997

In accordance with the terms and conditions of the notes, the rate of interest for the interest period 14 September 1990 to 14 December 1990 has been fixed at 8 1/4% per annum. Interest payable on 14 December 1990 will be US\$20.96 per US\$10,000 note.

Agent: Morgan Guaranty Trust Company

JPMorgan

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## COMPANIES AND FINANCE

## Maxwell in E German publishing venture

By David Goodhart in Bonn

MR Robert Maxwell, the British publisher, and Bertelsmann, the big West German media group, have paid between DM250m (\$160m) and DM300m for 100 per cent of East Germany's largest and potentially most profitable publishing group, Berliner Verlag.

Berliner Verlag, which publishes and prints the largest selling newspaper in Berlin and several other papers and magazines, is owned by the PDS, the former East German Communist Party. The proceeds from the sale will be controlled by a commission which is examining the property of the former official parties.

Gruener und Jahr, the Bertelsmann subsidiary involved in the deal, and the Maxwell Group will each take 50 per cent.

Gruener und Jahr will provide most of the management and Mr Maxwell will become chairman of the supervisory board.

Mr Gerd Schulte-Hillen, a Bertelsmann board member, said it was possible that Berliner Zeitung, the Verlag's main newspaper, could be developed into a German national paper, something which Bertelsmann does not own.

Bertelsmann has already launched regional tabloids in Dresden and Chemnitz in East Germany and produced an edition of its Hamburg Morgenpost for the Mecklenburg-Vorpommern region.

## Chairman of Spurs sacked

TOTTENHAM Hotspur will today begin the urgent search for new financial advisers, brokers and a permanent chairman for the football club after a stormy board meeting on Friday night, writes Richard Waters in London.

Mr Paul Bottrill, chairman, was sacked by the four other directors after he refused to stand aside. Barclays de Zoete Wedd, its financial adviser, and de Zoete & Bevan, its broker, resigned immediately.

Mr Robert Maxwell, the publisher, had said his £13m cash injection depended on directors presenting a united front.

## Chile banks on clearing its debts

Leslie Crawford reports on the country's test of lenders' confidence

When Mr Eduardo Aninat, Chile's chief debt negotiator, sits down with creditor banks in New York today, he hopes he will be conducting the country's last rescheduling exercise.

If the negotiations are successful, Chile's debt problems will be over. Its relations with the international financial community will return to normal and it could become the first country in Latin America to regain access to voluntary lending markets since the debt crisis struck in 1982.

Chile's pioneer use of debt reduction mechanisms such as debt-to-equity swaps has halved its commercial bank debt since 1985 to \$6.9bn. But it faces a punishing of maturities that will more than double its amortisation bill to \$1.8bn a year from 1991 to 1994.

Two thirds of these payments are non-reprogrammable obligations with creditor governments and multilateral institutions. So the only way to

lighten the burden will be to reschedule the debt owed to commercial banks - \$1.9bn during the next four years.

According to Mr Aninat, this will be the least controversial aspect of the debt talks. For Chile is also seeking a comprehensive financial package that will allow the country to plan its long-term development.

A crucial element in this deal, says Mr Aninat, is to get "real fresh money" from the banks to cover an expected balance of payments gap next year and free other resources for investment. Mr Aninat would not reveal the size of this shortfall, but private economists say it is about \$200m to \$300m.

Mr Aninat sees the materialisation of fresh credits as the test of bankers' confidence in Chile. "We have had nothing but praise from the banks for the way we have restructured our economy and managed our external debt," he said. "If they are not willing to lend to Chile,

what hope is there for the rest of Latin America?"

Mr Aninat's predecessor, Mr Hernan Somerville, believes that commercial bank loans will begin to flow into Chile again not as a reward for the country's good servicing record, but because it is good business.

Chile has one of the highest growth rates and lowest inflation rates in Latin America. Foreign investment is pouring in at \$100m a month. In addition, Chile completed an exemplary transition from dictatorship to democracy in March.

Mr Aninat does not want to force commercial banks into lending the new money. This would not help Chile in the road to the voluntary credit markets. What he envisages is a "semi-voluntary" club deal, put together by 20 to 25 banks which have a long-term interest in Chile.

This could be in the form of

a syndicated loan, or the club could agree to buy medium-term bonds issued by the Chilean Government, the Central Bank or the state-run Banco del Estado.

Mr Aninat says the price of these bonds would be a barometer of the banks' real assessment of Chile's creditworthiness. The country's total foreign debt of \$16.8bn equals 67 per cent of gross domestic product. Interest payments, which will total \$1.5bn this year, consume less than 18 per cent of the country's exports. International reserves stand at a healthy \$3bn. And by every other measure, Chile is no longer an over-indebted country.

The final item in Mr Aninat's shopping list is a bid to introduce more flexibility in the debt restructuring contracts signed since 1983. He believes that Chilean debtors, be they private or state companies, should be allowed to renegotiate their debt individually with their own creditor banks.

## Pacific Dunlop profits up 14%

By Bruce Jacques in Sydney

PACIFIC Dunlop, the Melbourne-based international rubber goods group, has managed a solid profit for the year ended June despite directors' complaints of tough economic conditions.

Net earnings rose 14 per cent to A\$300.5m (US\$248m) from A\$263.3m on a 12 per cent increase in sales to A\$5.1bn from A\$4.5bn. The annual dividend has been raised to 30 cents a share from 17 cents.

Sir Leslie Froggatt, chairman, described the results as "commendable in view of the

current difficulties in the Australian economy and the uncertainty of the world economy."

Sir Leslie said the prime focus of the year was productivity improvement. "Funds generated exceeded A\$600m before tax and interest," he said.

"Gearing reduced from 81.1 per cent to 46.5 per cent, and net borrowings were A\$87m lower. This was achieved notwithstanding the expenditure of \$311m on new business

growth during the year, comprising A\$77m on acquisitions and A\$234m in capital expenditure."

The divisional breakdown revealed a generally even performance. The result followed a 15 per cent increase in the group's net interest bill from A\$46.7m to A\$53.9m.

Depreciation took A\$136.7m against A\$102.4m and tax A\$99.7m compared with A\$108.4m. The result excluded a A\$104.2m extraordinary loss against a A\$402.9m loss previously.

## Merger of exchanges faces delay

By Beverly Chandler in Montreux

THE proposed merger of London's main financial derivatives exchanges, scheduled for the end of the year, looks likely to suffer delays.

Futures and options industry officials, attending last week's meeting in Montreux of the Swiss Commodities Futures and Options Association, believe a merger before March next year would be impossible.

But given the work to be done in bringing the London Traded Options Market and the London International Financial Futures Exchange together, the delays are likely to be longer.

The main issue appears to be the distribution of new shares in the exchange, but agreement has yet to be reached on issues such as clearing, membership rights and trading procedures. The Bank of England working party, which recommended the merger, is now seen as having set too ambitious a timetable.

In another development, the London Traded Options Market has received clearance from the US Securities and Exchange Commission to market options to a restricted number of clients in the US.

A letter from the SEC allows members of the International Stock Exchange and LTO to sell to "qualified investors" in the US. These are defined as institutions with at least \$100m in assets or funds under management, or SEC registered broker-dealers with \$10m in assets.

The SEC is the first non-North American exchange to receive such clearance.

Ms Mary Schapiro, an SEC commissioner, said the letter was an indication of an effort by the SEC to be accommodating to foreign markets while ensuring that US participants' interests were safeguarded.

The European Managed Futures Association, which groups sponsors of managed futures funds and other futures market operators, was launched in Montreux. It aims to lobby regulatory authorities in Europe on the role of futures and to educate fund managers on the use of derivative products.

The Securities and Exchange Commission said it wanted accounts to require banks and thrifts to value their debt securities at market price in what would be a shift in financial reporting methods, Reuter reports.

At present, financial institutions can value debt issues held for investment purposes at cost. Mr Richard Breeden, SEC chairman, said this accounting method could grossly distort the true picture of banks' and thrifts' financial health. Market-based accounting could "help avoid the type of problems faced by thrifts," he said.

## UAL buy-out team ends pact with investors' group

By Alan Friedman in New York

THE EMPLOYEE group trying to stage a \$4.3bn buy-out of UAL, the parent company of United Airlines, has terminated its formal pact with Condor Partners, a group of investors led by Coniston Partners, which holds an 11.8 per cent stake in UAL.

"However, the end of the pact," in light of current market conditions, according to a filing with the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC), appears to be more of a tactical manoeuvre than a definitive ending of the UAL bid.

The end of the pact will allow the buy-out group to revise its bid without having to make immediate disclosure to the SEC. It is thought the group may reduce its offer of \$155 in cash plus \$46 in securities.

The pact was agreed last April between the United Employee Acquisition Corp

(URAC) and Condor Partners. At the time UAL stock was trading at \$18, less than the \$155 of cash plus \$46 of paper offered in the \$4.3bn bid. On Friday UAL's stock stood at \$89.

The deadline for the bid had been extended by the UAL board on August 9 for 60 days to allow the partners more time to obtain financial backing.

In May Mr Gerald Greenwald, formerly the vice chairman of Chrysler, agreed to become chairman of UAL if the employee group succeeded in taking over the airline.

Mr Greenwald received a \$5m fee for signing on. He is also promised a \$1.3m yearly salary for five years if the buy-out succeeds and a 1.5 per cent equity stake in UAL. If the buy-out fails, he is guaranteed a \$4m fee, in addition to the \$5m he has already received.

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Pursuant to Clause 3 (xiii) of the Instrument dated 21st July, 1988 (the "Instrument") relating to the above-captioned warrants (the "Warrants"), notice is hereby given as follows:

In accordance with the resolutions of the Board of Directors of the Company adopted at the meetings held on 8th August and 17th August, 1990 the Company issued U.S. \$100,000,000 5 per cent. bonds due 1994 with warrants to subscribe for shares of common stock of the Company at the initial subscription price of Yen 564.00 per share.

As a result of the above issue, the Subscription Price (as defined in the Instrument) has been adjusted pursuant to Clause 3 (vii) of the Instrument as set forth below:

Subscription Price before adjustment: Yen 597.50  
Subscription Price after adjustment: Yen 576.80  
Effective date of adjustment: 31st August, 1990,  
Japan time

SUMITOMO CEMENT CO., LTD.

By: The Sumitomo Bank, Limited as Principal Paying Agent

17th September, 1990

U.S. \$400,000,000

## Santander Financial Issuances Limited

(Incorporated in the Cayman Islands with limited liability)

## Subordinated Undated Variable Rate Notes

with payment of interest subject to the profits of

and secured by a subordinated deposit with

Banco de Santander, S.A. de Crédito

(Incorporated in Spain with limited liability)

Notice is hereby given, that for the Interest Period from September 17, 1990 to December 17, 1990 the Notes will carry an Interest Rate of 8.575% per annum. The amount of interest payable on December 17, 1990 will be U.S. \$5,418.92 per U.S. \$250,000 principal amount of Notes.

By: The Chase Manhattan Bank, N.A.

London, Agent Bank

September 17, 1990

## NATIONAL BANK OF HUNGARY

US\$200,000,000

## Floating Rate Notes Due 2000

(Coupon No. 11)

Pursuant to Note conditions, notice is hereby given that for the interest period 17th September 1990 to 18th March 1991 (182 days), an interest rate of 8 1/4 per cent, per annum, will apply.

Amount per coupon (No. 11) = US\$423.40

Payable on the 18th March 1991

Reference/Agent Bank

LTCB

THE LONG-TERM CREDIT BANK OF JAPAN, LTD.

London Branch

## NOTICE TO THE WARRANT HOLDERS OF

## YUASA SHOJI CO., LTD.

U.S. \$50,000,000

5 1/2 per cent. Guaranteed Bonds due 1992 with

Warrants to subscribe for shares of common stock

## YUASA SHOJI CO., LTD.

Pursuant to Clause 3(xiii) of the Instrument dated 15th September, 1988 (the "Instrument") relating to the above-captioned warrants (the "Warrants"), notice is hereby given as follows:

In accordance with the resolutions of the Board of Directors of Yuasa Shoji Co., Ltd. (the "Company") adopted at the meetings held on 22nd August and 30th August, 1990, the Company issued U.S. \$50,000,000 4 1/2 per cent. guaranteed bonds due 1992 with warrants to subscribe for shares of common stock of the Company on 18th September, 1990 at the initial subscription price of ¥ 1,066 per share.

As a result of the above issue, the Subscription Price (as defined in the Instrument) has been adjusted pursuant to Clause 3(vii) of the Instrument as set forth below:

Subscription Price before adjustment: Yen 550.90  
Subscription Price after adjustment: Yen 537.10  
Effective date of adjustment: 13th September, 1990, Japan time

YUASA SHOJI CO., LTD.

By: The Sumitomo Bank, Limited as Principal Paying Agent

17th September, 1990

## THE ROYAL BANK OF CANADA

## Dividend No. 413

NOTICE is hereby given that a dividend of 29 cents per share upon the paid up common shares of this Bank has been declared for the current quarter and will be payable at the Bank and its Branches on and after 23 November, 1990 to shareholders of record at close of business on 24 October, 1990.

By Order of the Board

Jane E. Lawson

Vice-President &amp; Secretary

Montreal, September 5, 1990

## Residential Property Advertising

appears every

Saturday

For further information

in North America

please call:

James J. Smith

212 752 4500

or write to her at

14 East 60th Street

New York, NY 10022

## FINANCIAL TIMES

EUROPE'S BUSINESS NEWSPAPER

## FLASH LIMITED SERIES G

U.S. \$30,000,000

Secured Floating Rate Notes

Due 1993

In accordance with the conditions

of the notes, notice is hereby given

that for the three-month period

## BusinessWeek

This week's topics:

Settling Mike Milken's Fate

The Global Span Of Mighty Mitsubishi

A Comeback For Khoshoggi

The Secretive Deal For Pebble Beach

Squeezing The Penny Stock Promoters

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## BASE LENDING RATES

ABA Bank	15	Comitas & Co	15	Northern Bank Ltd	15
Admiral & Company	15	Cyprus Popular Bk	15	Bybrook Mortgage Bank	15
Allied Irish Bank	15	Danubius Bank PLC	15	Provincial Bank PLC	15
Alfred Bank Ltd	15	Danubius Bank	15	R. P. & Sons	15
Bank of America	15	Deutsche Bank	15	Reichsbank	15
Bank of Australia	15	Exterior Bank Ltd	15	Reichsbank Bank Ltd	15
Bank of Canada	15	Financial & Gen. Bank	15	Royal Bank of Scotland	15
Bank of China	15	First National Bank Plc	15	Royal Bank of Canada	15
Bank of Cyprus	15	First National Bank Plc	15	Smith & Williams Sec.	15
Bank of India	15	First National Bank Plc	15	Standard Chartered	15
Bank of Ireland	15	First National Bank Plc	15	Standard Chartered	15
Bank of Japan	15	First National Bank Plc	15	Standard Chartered	15
Bank of Korea	15	First National Bank Plc	15	Standard Chartered	15
Bank of London	15	First National Bank Plc	15	Standard Chartered	15
Bank of Mexico	15	First National Bank Plc	15	Standard Chartered	15
Bank of Montreal	15	First National Bank Plc	15	Standard Chartered	15
Bank of New York	15	First National Bank Plc	15	Standard Chartered	15
Bank of Paris	15	First National Bank Plc	15	Standard Chartered	15
Bank of Portugal	15	First National Bank Plc	15	Standard Chartered	15
Bank of Romania	15	First National Bank Plc	15	Standard Chartered	15
Bank of Russia	15	First National Bank Plc	15	Standard Chartered	15
Bank of Scotland	15	First National Bank Plc	15	Standard Chartered	15
Bank of Singapore	15	First National Bank Plc	15	Standard Chartered	15
Bank of Spain	15	First National Bank Plc	15	Standard Chartered	15
Bank of Sweden	15	First National Bank Plc	15	Standard Chartered	15
Bank of Switzerland	15	First National Bank Plc	15	Standard Chartered	15
Bank of Taiwan	15	First National Bank Plc	15	Standard Chartered	15
Bank of Thailand	15	First National Bank Plc	15	Standard Chartered	15
Bank of Tokyo	15	First National Bank Plc	15	Standard Chartered	15
Bank of Union	15	First National Bank Plc	15	Standard Chartered	15
Bank of Vietnam	15	First National Bank Plc	15	Standard Chartered	15
Bank of West Africa	15	First National Bank Plc	15	Standard Chartered	15
Bank of Yugoslavia	15	First National Bank Plc	15	Standard Chartered	15
Bank of Zaire	15	First National Bank Plc	15	Standard Chartered	15
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## WORLD STOCK MARKETS

FRANCE (continued)				GERMANY (continued)				ITALY (continued)				SWEDEN			
High				High				High				High			
Low				Low				Low				Low			
September 14				September 14				September 14				September 14			
5,430	2,805	Airbus A320	3,400	5,300	4,902	Boeing 747-300	12,500	8,465	5,800	SAGB	5,550	320	225	AGA B (Free)	305
5,300	4,902	Boeing 747-400	12,400	19,600	12,400	Boeing 747-400	12,400	15,226	11,970	Siril Sea	12,450	10	14	Alb-Lad (Free)	305
1,435	640	Boeing 737-400	1,405	1,435	640	Boeing 737-500	1,405	10,320	7,500	St. Paul	7,500	10	14	Alb-Lad (Free)	305
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-600	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-700	1,570	12,500	9,350	Ten Aerobics	9,350	10	14	Alb-Lad (Free)	305
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-800	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-900	1,570	18,800	13,300	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-1000	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-1100	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-1200	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-1300	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-1400	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-1500	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-1600	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-1700	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-1800	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-1900	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-2000	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-2100	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-2200	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-2300	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-2400	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-2500	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-2600	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-2700	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-2800	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-2900	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-3000	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-3100	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-3200	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-3300	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-3400	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-3500	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-3600	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-3700	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-3800	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-3900	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-4000	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-4100	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-4200	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-4300	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-4400	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-4500	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-4600	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-4700	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-4800	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-4900	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-5000	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-5100	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-5200	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-5300	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-5400	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-5500	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-5600	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-5700	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-5800	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-5900	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-6000	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-6100	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-6200	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-6300	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-6400	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-6500	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-6600	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-6700	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-6800	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-6900	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-7000	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-7100	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-7200	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-7300	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-7400	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-7500	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-7600	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-7700	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-7800	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-7900	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-8000	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-8100	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-8200	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-8300	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-8400	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-8500	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-8600	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-8700	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-8800	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-8900	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-9000	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-9100	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-9200	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-9300	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-9400	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-9500	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-9600	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-9700	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-9800	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-9900	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-10000	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-10100	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-10200	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-10300	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-10400	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-10500	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-10600	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-10700	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-10800	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-10900	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-11000	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-11100	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-11200	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-11300	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-11400	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-11500	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-11600	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-11700	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-11800	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-11900	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-12000	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-12100	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-12200	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-12300	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-12400	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-12500	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-12600	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-12700	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-12800	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-12900	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-13000	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-13100	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-13200	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-13300	1,570	12,500	9,350	Unioncom	10,805	1,400	815	Erasmus B (Free)	1,166
2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-13400	1,570	2,380	1,570	Boeing 737-13500</									

**CANADA**[illegible]

$1 + 2g$   
 $1 + 2g$   
 $1 + 2g$

4000	Hemisphere	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
50100	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
43500	Processor II	\$15.0	15.0	15.0					
50100	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
10000	486 Rtc	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
11400	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
20000	486 X T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
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10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
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10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
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10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
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5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
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10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
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5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
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5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
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5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
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5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	10.0					
5000	Samuel M T	\$12.5	12.5	12.5					
10000	Base	\$10.0	10.0	1					

## INDICES

collation	Sept.				OCT.				HIGH		LOW	
	14	18	21	24	14	18	21	24				
AUSTRALIA												
Al. Bahreria (Q1/20)	1408.1	1404.4	1332.3	1499.4	733.9	620.0	663.9	705.9	1045.8	658.9	715.9	672.9
Al. Bahreria (Q2/20)	738.2	738.2	738.2	738.2	738.2	738.2	738.2	738.2	738.2	738.2	738.2	738.2
AUSTRIA												
Al. Bahreria (Q1/20)	668.08	651.67	617.73	619.25	703.9	619.9	619.9	619.9	619.9	619.9	619.9	619.9
Al. Bahreria (Q2/20)	668.08	651.67	617.73	619.25	703.9	619.9	619.9	619.9	619.9	619.9	619.9	619.9
BELGIUM												
Al. Bahreria (Q1/20)	6476.08	6511.67	6539.85	6501.85	6594.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9
Al. Bahreria (Q2/20)	6476.08	6511.67	6539.85	6501.85	6594.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9
BELGIUM												
Al. Bahreria (Q1/20)	6476.08	6511.67	6539.85	6501.85	6594.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9
Al. Bahreria (Q2/20)	6476.08	6511.67	6539.85	6501.85	6594.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9
BELGIUM												
Al. Bahreria (Q1/20)	6476.08	6511.67	6539.85	6501.85	6594.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9
Al. Bahreria (Q2/20)	6476.08	6511.67	6539.85	6501.85	6594.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9
BELGIUM												
Al. Bahreria (Q1/20)	6476.08	6511.67	6539.85	6501.85	6594.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9
Al. Bahreria (Q2/20)	6476.08	6511.67	6539.85	6501.85	6594.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9
BELGIUM												
Al. Bahreria (Q1/20)	6476.08	6511.67	6539.85	6501.85	6594.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9
Al. Bahreria (Q2/20)	6476.08	6511.67	6539.85	6501.85	6594.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9
BELGIUM												
Al. Bahreria (Q1/20)	6476.08	6511.67	6539.85	6501.85	6594.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9
Al. Bahreria (Q2/20)	6476.08	6511.67	6539.85	6501.85	6594.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9
BELGIUM												
Al. Bahreria (Q1/20)	6476.08	6511.67	6539.85	6501.85	6594.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9
Al. Bahreria (Q2/20)	6476.08	6511.67	6539.85	6501.85	6594.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9
BELGIUM												
Al. Bahreria (Q1/20)	6476.08	6511.67	6539.85	6501.85	6594.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9
Al. Bahreria (Q2/20)	6476.08	6511.67	6539.85	6501.85	6594.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9
BELGIUM												
Al. Bahreria (Q1/20)	6476.08	6511.67	6539.85	6501.85	6594.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9	6522.9

A-40  
(16/192)

[illegible]

approach.)

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
<b>NETRELANDS</b>									
CS Tuluca Corp/CS Tuluca	294.7	248.6	249.3	249.1	271.9	259.0	250.7	250.7	250.7
CS Tuluca Int'l	11.1	11.1	11.1	11.1	11.1	11.1	11.1	11.1	11.1
<b>MONTREAL</b>									
Steele Ind Co/CS	578.06	572.47	574.31	572.85	515.13	505.0	705.57	705.57	705.57
<b>St. John (CS)</b>									
St. John Corp	642.30	641.35	676.26	648.26	1160.70	1203.28	642.30	642.30	642.30
<b>PRINCETON</b>									
Smith Corp/CS	642.30	641.35	676.26	648.26	1160.70	1203.28	642.30	642.30	642.30
<b>St. John (CS)</b>									
St. John Corp	642.30	641.35	676.26	648.26	1160.70	1203.28	642.30	642.30	642.30
<b>St. John (CS)</b>									
St. John Corp	642.30	641.35	676.26	648.26	1160.70	1203.28	642.30	642.30	642.30
<b>St. John (CS)</b>									
St. John Corp	642.30	641.35	676.26	648.26	1160.70	1203.28	642.30	642.30	642.30
<b>St. John (CS)</b>									
St. John Corp	642.30	641.35	676.26	648.26	1160.70	1203.28	642.30	642.30	642.30
<b>St. John (CS)</b>									
St. John Corp	642.30	641.35	676.26	648.26	1160.70	1203.28	642.30	642.30	642.30
<b>St. John (CS)</b>									
St. John Corp	642.30	641.35	676.26	648.26	1160.70	1203.28	642.30	642.30	642.30
<b>St. John (CS)</b>									
St. John Corp	642.30	641.35	676.26	648.26	1160.70	1203.28	642.30	642.30	642.30
<b>St. John (CS)</b>									
St. John Corp	642.30	641.35	676.26	648.26	1160.70	1203.28	642.30	642.30	642.30
<b>St. John (CS)</b>									
St. John Corp	642.30	641.35	676.26	648.26	1160.70	1203.28	642.30	642.30	642.30
<b>St. John (CS)</b>									
St. John Corp	642.30	641.35	676.26	648.26	1160.70	1203.28	642.30	642.30	642.30
<b>St. John (CS)</b>									
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**Acute Phase**

Change on day Oct. 2	Stocks Traded Millions	Closing Prices Oct. 1	Change on day Oct. 2
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12	Nippon Steel
14	Tokai Co.
20	Nippon Steel
31	Kobe Steel

-1	Banden	7.7m	1,510	-30
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a this survey on:

**October 1990**

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11



## CURRENCIES, MONEY AND CAPITAL MARKETS

## MONEY MARKETS

## ERM in November?

THE MAIN condition for sterling to become a full member of the European Monetary System is that British inflation moves down towards the average level in the European Community. At first glance Friday's announcement that August year-on-year inflation had jumped to 10.6 from 9.8 per cent looks to be a marked setback, but oil price rises

UK clearing bank base lending rate 15 per cent from October 5, 1989.

Induced by the Gulf crisis will insure that inflation moves up throughout the industrialised world.

Mr Neil MacKinnon, chief economist at Yamaichi in London, believes that oil price rises will hit Germany and France harder than Britain, and the general view in the City seems to be that UK inflation will begin to show a fall from the October figures announced on November 15.

Some time in November now

seems to be the favourite time for the pound to join the EMS exchange rate mechanism. Mr Roger Bootle, chief UK economist at Midland Montagu, suggests November is likely, but October is possible, although the Gulf crisis has probably thrown any timetable off beam.

Mr Bootle is also looking for an early cut in bank base rate, as the economy slows down, but Mr MacKinnon says a soft membership and that rates will have to stay at 15 per cent until the new year.

Mr Nick Parsons, economist at Union Discount, believes the political arguments favour ERM membership in the autumn, and thinks the 11th is the most likely date. He suggests this will be just before a pessimistic Autumn Statement from the Chancellor and also before an important EC inter-governmental conference in December.

November 11 is also Armistice Day, having symbolic implications for European unity.

## FOUR SPOT - FORWARD AGAINST THE POUND

Day	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	Oct 1	Oct 2	Oct 3	Oct 4	Oct 5	Oct 6	Oct 7	Oct 8	Oct 9	Oct 10	Oct 11	Oct 12	Oct 13	Oct 14	Oct 15	Oct 16	Oct 17	Oct 18	Oct 19	Oct 20	Oct 21	Oct 22	Oct 23	Oct 24	Oct 25	Oct 26	Oct 27	Oct 28	Oct 29	Oct 30	Oct 31	Nov 1	Nov 2	Nov 3	Nov 4	Nov 5	Nov 6	Nov 7	Nov 8	Nov 9	Nov 10	Nov 11	Nov 12	Nov 13	Nov 14	Nov 15	Nov 16	Nov 17	Nov 18	Nov 19	Nov 20	Nov 21	Nov 22	Nov 23	Nov 24	Nov 25	Nov 26	Nov 27	Nov 28	Nov 29	Nov 30	Dec 1	Dec 2	Dec 3	Dec 4	Dec 5	Dec 6	Dec 7	Dec 8	Dec 9	Dec 10	Dec 11	Dec 12	Dec 13	Dec 14	Dec 15	Dec 16	Dec 17	Dec 18	Dec 19	Dec 20	Dec 21	Dec 22	Dec 23	Dec 24	Dec 25	Dec 26	Dec 27	Dec 28	Dec 29	Dec 30	Dec 31																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																	
US\$	1.9115	1.9095	1.9075	1.9055	1.9035	1.9015	1.8995	1.8975	1.8955	1.8935	1.8915	1.8895	1.8875	1.8855	1.8835	1.8815	1.8795	1.8775	1.8755	1.8735	1.8715	1.8695	1.8675	1.8655	1.8635	1.8615	1.8595	1.8575	1.8555	1.8535	1.8515	1.8495	1.8475	1.8455	1.8435	1.8415	1.8395	1.8375	1.8355	1.8335	1.8315	1.8295	1.8275	1.8255	1.8235	1.8215	1.8195	1.8175	1.8155	1.8135	1.8115	1.8095	1.8075	1.8055	1.8035	1.8015	1.7995	1.7975	1.7955	1.7935	1.7915	1.7895	1.7875	1.7855	1.7835	1.7815	1.7795	1.7775	1.7755	1.7735	1.7715	1.7695	1.7675	1.7655	1.7635	1.7615	1.7595	1.7575	1.7555	1.7535	1.7515	1.7495	1.7475	1.7455	1.7435	1.7415	1.7395	1.7375	1.7355	1.7335	1.7315	1.7295	1.7275	1.7255	1.7235	1.7215	1.7195	1.7175	1.7155	1.7135	1.7115	1.7095	1.7075	1.7055	1.7035	1.7015	1.6995	1.6975	1.6955	1.6935	1.6915	1.6895	1.6875	1.6855	1.6833	1.6815	1.6795	1.6775	1.6755	1.6733	1.6715	1.6695	1.6675	1.6655	1.6633	1.6615	1.6595	1.6577	1.6555	1.6533	1.6515	1.6495	1.6477	1.6455	1.6433	1.6415	1.6395	1.6377	1.6355	1.6333	1.6315	1.6295	1.6277	1.6255	1.6233	1.6215	1.6195	1.6177	1.6155	1.6133	1.6115	1.6095	1.6077	1.6055	1.6033	1.6015	1.5995	1.5977	1.5955	1.5933	1.5915	1.5895	1.5877	1.5855	1.5833	1.5815	1.5795	1.5777	1.5755	1.5733	1.5715	1.5695	1.5677	1.5655	1.5633	1.5615	1.5595	1.5577	1.5555	1.5533	1.5515	1.5495	1.5477	1.5455	1.5433	1.5415	1.5395	1.5377	1.5355	1.5333	1.5315	1.5295	1.5277	1.5255	1.5233	1.5215	1.5195	1.5177	1.5155	1.5133	1.5115	1.5095	1.5077	1.5055	1.5033	1.5015	1.4995	1.4977	1.4955	1.4933	1.4915	1.4895	1.4877	1.4855	1.4833	1.4815	1.4795	1.4777	1.4755	1.4733	1.4715	1.4695	1.4677	1.4655	1.4633	1.4615	1.4595	1.4577	1.4555	1.4533	1.4515	1.4495	1.4477	1.4455	1.4433	1.4415	1.4395	1.4377	1.4355	1.4333	1.4315	1.4295	1.4277	1.4255	1.4233	1.4215	1.4195	1.4177	1.4155	1.4133	1.4115	1.4095	1.4077	1.4055	1.4033	1.4015	1.3995	1.3977	1.3955	1.3933	1.3915	1.3895	1.3877	1.3855	1.3833	1.3815	1.3795	1.3777	1.3755	1.3733	1.3715	1.3695	1.3677	1.3655	1.3633	1.3615	1.3595	1.3577	1.3555	1.3533	1.3515	1.3495	1.3477	1.3455	1.3433	1.3415	1.3395	1.3377	1.3355	1.3333	1.3315	1.3295	1.3277	1.3255	1.3233	1.3215	1.3195	1.3177	1.3155	1.3133	1.3115	1.3095	1.3077	1.3055	1.3033	1.3015	1.2995	1.2977	1.2955	1.2933	1.2915	1.2895	1.2877	1.2855	1.2833	1.2815	1.2795	1.2777	1.2755	1.2733	1.2715	1.2695	1.2677	1.2655	1.2633	1.2615	1.2595	1.2577	1.2555	1.2533	1.2515	1.2495	1.2477	1.2455	1.2433	1.2415	1.2395	1.2377	1.2355	1.2333	1.2315	1.2295	1.2277	1.2255	1.2233	1.2215	1.2195	1.2177	1.2155	1.2133	1.2115	1.2095	1.2077	1.2055	1.2033	1.2015	1.1995	1.1977	1.1955	1.1933	1.1915	1.1895	1.1877	1.1855	1.1833	1.1815	1.1795	1.1777	1.1755	1.1733	1.1715	1.1695	1.1677	1.1655	1.1633	1.1615	1.1595	1.1577	1.1555	1.1533	1.1515	1.1495	1.1477	1.1455	1.1433	1.1415	1.1395	1.1377	1.1355	1.1333	1.1315	1.1295	1.1277	1.1255	1.1233	1.1215	1.1195	1.1177	1.1155	1.1133	1.1115	1.1095	1.1077	1.1055	1.1033	1.1015	1.0995	1.0977	1.0955	1.0933	1.0915	1.0895	1.0877	1.0855	1.0833	1.0815	1.0795	1.0777	1.0755	1.0733	1.0715	1.0695	1.0677	1.0655	1.0633	1.0615	1.0595	1.0577	1.0555	1.0533	1.0515	1.0495	1.0477	1.0455	1.0433	1.0415	1.0395	1.0377	1.0355	1.0333	1.0315	1.0295	1.0277	1.0255	1.0233	1.0215	1.0195	1.0177	1.0155	1.0133	1.0115	1.0095	1.0077	1.0055	1.0033	1.0015	0.9995	0.9977	0.9955	0.9933	0.9915	0.9895	0.9877	0.9855	0.9833	0.9815	0.9795	0.9777	0.9755	0.9733	0.9715	0.9695	0.9677	0.9655	0.9633	0.9615	0.9595	0.9577	0.9555	0.9533	0.9515	0.9495	0.9477	0.9455	0.9433	0.9415	0.9395	0.9377	0.9355	0.9333	0.9315	0.9295	0.9277	0.9255	0.9233	0.9215	0.9195	0.9177	0.9155	0.9133	0.9115	0.9095	0.9077	0.9055	0.9033	0.9015	0.8995	0.8977	0.8955	0.8933	0.8915	0.8895	0.8877	0.8855	0.8833	0.8815	0.8795	0.8777	0.8755	0.8733	0.8715	0.8695	0.8677	0.8655	0.8633	0.8615	0.8595	0.8577	0.8555	0.8533	0.8515	0.8495	0.8477	0.8455	0.8433	0.8415	0.8395	0.8377	0.8355	0.8333	0.8315	0.8295	0.8277	0.8255	0.8233	0.8215	0.8195	0.8177	0.8155	0.8133	0.8115	0.8095	0.8077	0.8055	0.8033	0.8015	0.7995	0.7977	0.7955	0.7933	0.7915	0.7895	0.7877	0.7855	0.7833	0.7815	0.7795	0.7777	0.7755	0.7733	0.7715	0.7695	0.7677	0.7655	0.7633	0.7615	0.7595	0.7577	0.7555	0.7533	0.7515	0.7495	0.7477	0.7455	0.7433	0.7415	0.7395	0.7377	0.7355	0.7333	0.7315	0.7295	0.7277	0.7255	0.7233	0.7215	0.7195	0.7177	0.7155	0.7133	0.7115	0.7095	0.7077	0.7055	0.7033	0.7015	0.6995	0.6977	0.6955	0.6933	0.6915	0.6895	0.6877	0.6855	0.6833	0.6815	0.6795	0.6777	0.6755	0.6733	0.6715	0.6695	0.6677	0.6655	0.6633	0.6615	0.6595	0.6577	0.6555	0.6533	0.6515	0.6495	0.6477	0.6455	0.6433	0.6415	0.6395	0.6377	0.6355	0.6333	0.6315	0.6295	0.6277	0.6255	0.6233	0.6215	0.6195	0.6177	0.6155	0.6133	0.6115	0.6095	0.6077	0.6055	0.6033	0.6015	0.5995	0.5977	0.5955	0.5933	0.5915	0.5895	0.5877	0.5855	0.5833	0.5815	0.5795	0.5777	0.5755	0.5733	0.5715	0.5695	0.5677	0.5655	0.5633	0.5615	0.5595	0.5577	0.5555	0.5533	0.5515	0.5495	0.5477	0.5455	0.5433	0.5415	0.5395	0.5377	0.5355	0.5333	0.5315	0.5295	0.5277	0.5255	0.5233	0.5215	0.5195	0.5177	0.5155	0.5133	0.5115	0.5095	0.5077	0.5055	0.5033	0.5015	0.4995	0.4977	0.4955	0.4933	0.4915	0.4895	0.4877	0.4855	0.4833	0.4815	0.4795	0.4777	0.4755	0.4733	0.4715	0.4695	0.4677	0.4655	0.4633	0.4615	0.4595	0.4577	0.4555	0.4533	0.4515	0.4495	0.4477	0.4455	0.4433	0.4415	0.4395	0.4377	0.4355	0.4333	0.4315	0.4295	0.4277	0.4255	0.4233	0.4215	0.4195	0.4177	0.4155	0.4133	0.4115	0.4095	0.4077	0.4055	0.4033	0.4015	0.3995	0.3977	0.3955	0.3933	0.3915	0.3895	0.3877	0.3855	0.3833	0.3815	0.3795	0.3777	0.3755	0.3733	0.3715	0.3695	0.3677	0.3655	0.3633	0.3615	0.3595	0.3577	0.3555	0.3533	0.3515	0.3495	0.3477	0.3455	0.3433	0.3415	0.3395	0.3377	0.3355	0.3333	0.3315	0.3295	0.3277	0.3255	0.3233	0.3215	0.3195	0.3177	0.3155	0.3133	0.3115	0.3095	0.3077	0.3055	0.3033	0.3015	0.2995	0.2977	0.2955	0.2933	0.2915	0.2895	0.2877	0.2855	0.2833	0.2815	0.2795	0.2777	0.2755	0.2733	0.2715	0.2695	0.2677	0.2655	0.2633	0.2615	0.2595	0.2577	0.2555	0.2533	0.2515	0.2495	0.2477	0.2455	0.2433	0.2415	0.2395	0.2377	0.2355	0.2333	0.2315	0.2295	0.2277	0.2255	0.2233	0.2215	0.2195	0.2177	0.2155	0.2133	0.2115	0.2095	0.2077	0.2055	0.2033	0.2015	0.1995	0.1977	0.1955	0.1933	0.1915	0.1895	0.1877	0.1855	0.1833	0.1815	0.1795	0.1777	0.1755	0.1733	0.1715	0.1695	0.1677	0.1655	0.1633	0.1615	0.1595	0.1577	0.1555	0.1533	0.1515	0.1495	0.1477	0.1455	0.1433	0.1415	0.1395	0.1377	0.1355	0.1333	0.1315	0.1295	0.1277	0.1255	0.1233	0.1215	0.1195	0.1177	0.1155	0.1133	0.1115	0.1095	0.1077	0.1055	0.1033	0.1015	0.0995	0.0977	0.0955	0.0933	0.0915	0.0895	0.0877	0.0855	0.0833	0.0815	0.0795	0.0777	0.0755	0.0733	0.0715	0.0695	0.0677	0.0655	0.0633	0.0615	0.0595	0.0577	0.0555	0.0533	0.0515	0.0495	0.0477	0.0455	0.0433	0.0415	0.0395	0.0377	0.0355	0.0333	0.0315	0.0295	0.0277	0.0255	0.0233	0.0215	0.0195	0.0177	0.0155	0.0133	0.0115	0.0095	0.0077	0.0055	0.0033	0.0015	0.0000	0.00
UK£	1.2525	1.2505	1.2485	1.2465	1.2445	1.2425	1.2405	1.2385	1.2365	1.2345	1.2325	1.2305	1.2285	1.2265	1.2245	1.2225	1.2205	1.2185	1.2165	1.2145	1.2125	1.2105	1.2085	1.2065	1.2045	1.2025	1.2005	1.1985	1.1965	1.1945	1.1925	1.1905	1.1885	1.1865	1.1845	1.1825	1.1805	1.1785	1.1765	1.1745	1.1725	1.1705	1.1685	1.1665	1.1645	1.1625	1.1605	1.1585	1.1565	1.1545	1.1525	1.1505	1.1485	1.1465	1.1445	1.1425	1.1405	1.1385	1.1365	1.1345	1.1325	1.1305	1.1285	1.1265	1.1245	1.1225	1.1205	1.1185	1.1165	1.1145	1.1125	1.1105	1.1085	1.1065	1.1045	1.1025	1.1005	1.0985	1.0965	1.0945	1.0925	1.0																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																												







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## MONDAY INTERVIEW

## Champion caught up in a crisis

Abdulla Saudi, president of Arab Banking Corporation, talks to David Lascelles

All bankers abhor a crisis, but few actually have to live through one. Someone who has is Mr Abdulla Saudi, the president and chief executive of Arab Banking Corporation, one of the leading banks in the Arab world.

Ever since Iraq invaded Kuwait, Mr Saudi has been dashing around three continents, fighting fires and doing his best to limit the damage of what is now clearly the worst blow ever to hit the Middle East banking market. He appears to be succeeding. ABC is still in business, and Mr Saudi himself was able to pause last week to take stock. "I hope things come to an end soon," he said, though his tone suggested that he doubted they would.

He was speaking in his bank's London branch close to the Bank of England where the top floor has been fitted out to resemble the courtyard of an Emir's palace, complete with thinking fountain. It conveyed in an atmosphere of tranquillity that was totally at odds with the realities.

Like all Gulf banks, ABC suffered a terrible financial shock with the invasion. Within hours, virtually all the international banks had cut off their credit lines. In the days that followed there was a steady outflow of deposits. To make things worse, the US Government threatened to freeze the bank because the Kuwait Government owns 25 per cent of the shares. So Mr Saudi had to rush off to Washington to try and stop them.

It was not an unfamiliar situation. ABC had already been frozen once - during the Libya crisis in 1986 - because the Libyan central bank is another big shareholder. This time Mr Saudi managed to persuade the US that a freeze would do more harm than good, but it was a further indication of the special risks of being a bank in a turbulent part of the world.

By the end of August, the ABC parent bank had lost \$1.4bn, or more than 10 per cent of its deposits, though it managed to cope with that because it has the ways run by very liquid balance sheet. Its big shareholders and the Gulf monetary authorities also supported it by placing large deposits.

Unlike some other Gulf banks, ABC has had to raise cash, and Mr Saudi is keen not to because he thinks it would send the wrong signal to the market. Gradually, foreign banks are beginning to restore their credit lines.

But as well as financial injury, Mr Saudi feels that his

bank suffered a great injustice as well. ABC is not Kuwaiti or even Iraqi. It is based in Bahrain, and the vast majority of its assets are located a great distance from the Gulf crisis zone. So it should have been out of the firing line. But when confidence goes in banking, it goes in a rush. ABC was big, Arab and in the Gulf, and that was more than enough to make it a target.

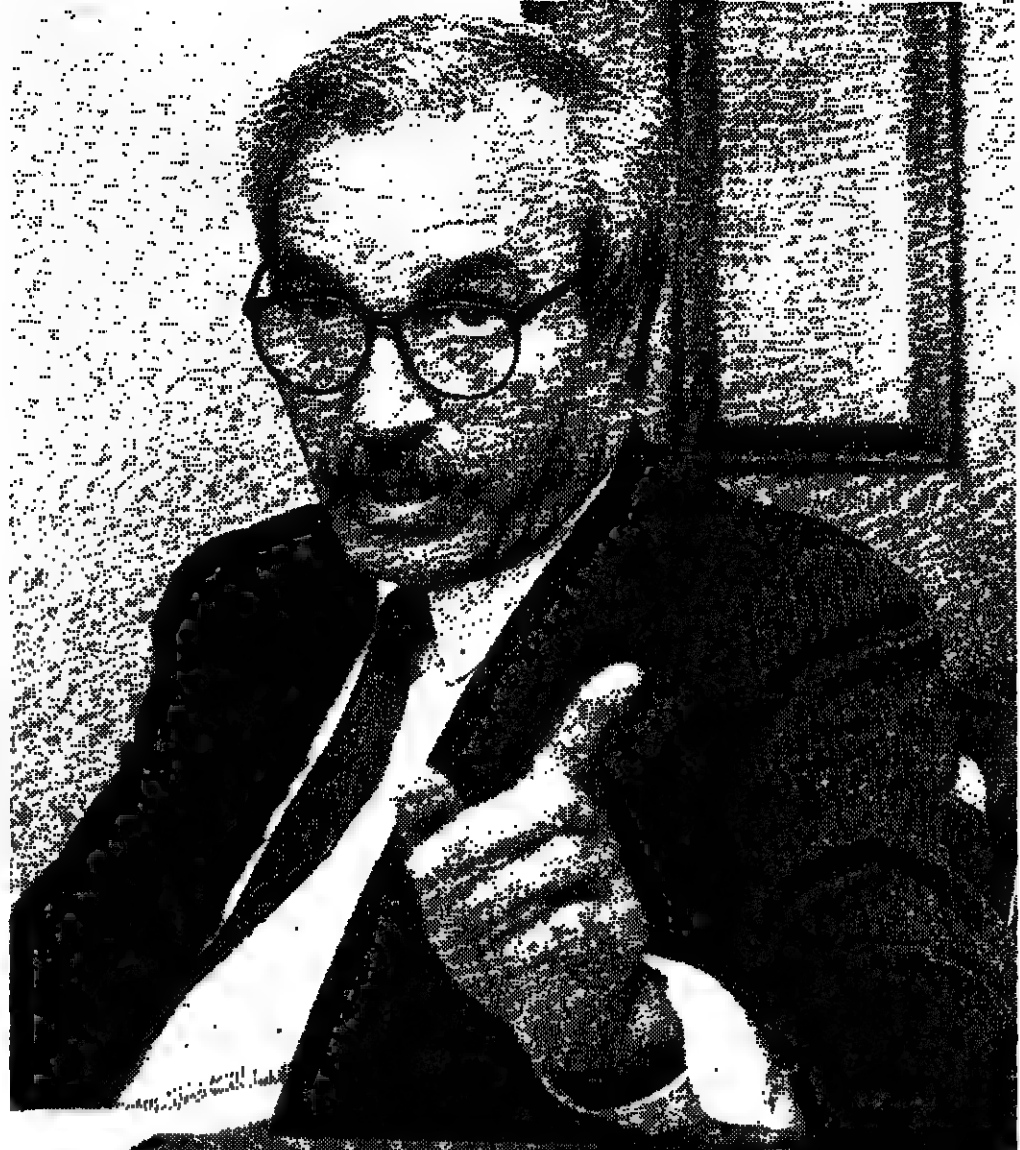
The speed with which his fellow bankers cut and ran has left Mr Saudi disturbed, even philosophical, about the way humans behave in a crisis. "We expected a strong reaction against Arab institutions, and I don't blame them. But bankers - and I am a banker so I can say this - always overlook the fundamentals and traditions. They don't look at the balance sheet. We allow ourselves to be guided by environmental changes that have nothing to do with the real problems."

Had bankers really looked at ABC, he says, they would have seen that it operates in 23 countries and that only 17 per cent of its assets were in Gulf states, and they were more than covered by deposits. Among other things, ABC owns Banco Atlantico, the ninth-largest bank in Spain, an ABC subsidiary in Germany, and a substantial business in London.

He is particularly critical of the Japanese banks which were the quickest to slam down the shutters. "You have to say that the Japanese were unfair to us," he says. "Maybe we should react more strongly against them. The value of their reserves has gone down a lot with the fall in the Tokyo stock market. If we were all to react like this, what would happen to international banking?" ABC has begun to mend its fences with the Japanese banks, and the first of them restored its credit lines at the end of last week.

The immediate lessons Mr Saudi has drawn from the crisis are the wisdom of geographical diversification, the value of duplicate computer systems, and the importance of personal contacts.

The first was the result of ABC's international ambitions. It has plenty to fall back on. The second was a precaution taken during the Iran-Iraq war when a well-aimed bomb on Bahrain could have wiped the bank out. Now, Mr Saudi can call up the bank's entire management information system in London as well. The third meant he could telephone through to all his bank's vital clients and depositors to try to keep them loyal. "They have to make their own judgments, but at least I could put the numbers in front of them," he said.



'I hope things come to an end soon'

The strength of Mr Saudi's feelings about the irrationality of bankers will not come as a surprise to his colleagues. He is well-known as a champion of the Arab banking cause, and he holds strong views about the need for the Arab world to develop its own financial institutions to challenge the western-dominated international banking "club." He helped found ABC exactly 10 years

ago as a board member. His drive, personal charm and fluency have given him a certain charisma, though he is known to display a Libyan's prickliness in the presence of non-Arabs; and some of his business judgments, like lending heavily to Latin America, have been questionable.

His ambition for ABC was always to start selling shares to private investors once it had become fully established. Initially, that plan reached fruition only just before the Gulf crisis. In June, ABC sold its first tranche of new stock to the international market and picked up 3,600 shareholders. Mr Saudi was hoping to make another public offering so as to bring the government stake down to 50 per cent. But that will now have to be shelved, which is a great disappointment.

"The Arab world must have some sort of presence in the international banking community," says Mr Saudi. Quite how large that presence can be, particularly after recent events, is hard to judge, though Mr Saudi thinks there are still five Arab banks, including his own, which can realistically aspire to international status.

He believes they should be able to flourish in the financial trade between the Gulf and the rest of the world. But their best prospects may lie in the rise in the oil price which has already been triggered by the crisis. Mr Saudi expects to see the oil price settle at about \$22-\$25, down from its current peak but well up on pre-invasion levels. This will boost revenues, "and we'll have a good share of that," he predicts.

But he expects the effects of the crisis, if not the crisis itself, to last a long time. "I don't want to be a pessimist

**PERSONAL FILE**  
1957 Born in Tripoli, Libya.  
1958 Communist and Accountancy diploma.  
1957 Teachers' High Certificate.  
1966-72 Central Bank of Libya.  
1972-80 Chairman and general manager Libyan Arab Foreign Bank.  
1980 President and chief executive, Arab Banking Corporation.

ago to lead that challenge, and now that ambition risks being thwarted.

A Libyan by birth, Mr Saudi spent most of his early career as a central banker. But in the 1970s he grew increasingly concerned at the way the fast-growing oil wealth of the Arab world was being funnelled into non-Arab banks. In 1979, he persuaded the governments of Libya, Kuwait and Abu Dhabi to invest \$750m in his new bank, which he then built up into the \$22bn institution which it is today.

His reputation is as a shrewd, aggressive banker with unusually wide experience of international business. One of his major deals while still in Libya in the 1970s was to manage his country's huge investment in Fiat, of which he

in the market are little groups of liberals in Moscow, Leningrad and the republics' capitals.

Ignorance is not the only problem, even the main one. Co-operatives - the small experiment with semi-private enterprise which has so far been permitted - have received a vastly hostile reception. Indeed, as the legislation to prepare for the new reforms is now being drafted, regulations are slotting into place to limit the scope of their markets and activities. The Soviet Union is a nation in which most of the people have always hated markets and trading and individual betterment. Now that there are no effective communists left to blame for the suppression of initiative, will the people allow it to emerge?

We have seen, for the past five and a half years, a most brilliant display: a Soviet leadership prepared to reduce its state and its ideology to bare bones. The post-imperialist British leaders were not so bold or so precipitate. They preferred to hang on to, certainly to sputter, the rhetoric of grandeur without its substance for years.

In doing what he has done, Gorbachev has received the adulation of the West and the increasing hatred of his own people. We will now see if that hatred can be contained, and the energies harnessed to build, for the first time, a normal state.

## Money vs sense in Washington



By Anthony Harris in Washington

It is fortunate that in real life the dividing line between farce and tragedy is not very narrow, or the US would be in big trouble. As it is, trouble remains merely a possibility. What is forbidding, from a Washington point of view, is that the outcome will be determined more by investors than by anything the American authorities now seem capable of doing.

Meanwhile, it is still possible to laugh at the so-called budget process, which is still, as I write, filling the officers' mess at Andrews Air Force Base with smoke and swear-words. This has now passed the Gramm-Rudman, or Augustinian phase ("Let me balance the budget, but not yet") to old-fashioned American politics. The odd sensible idea may have been accepted, provided it causes little short-term pain; but it is still possible for well-informed reporters to tell us, with no hint of surprise, that other sensible proposals, such as a sharply higher tobacco tax, will probably be dropped for fear of the relevant lobby.

The fact that tiny interest groups such as the tobacco industry can still block national policies is a fundamental sickness in the American system. There is the power which misdirects public investment (though this can hardly be called "bribe", for there is far too little of it), and which turned the logical tax reform proposals of 1986 into the labyrinthine code which emerged. As the late Jan Tumlir noted, a nation with a 2,000-page tax code cannot be said to have a market economy.

This corruption of the process is done the old-fashioned way, with money. Every year it seems to become more expensive to fight a US election; and so every year elected officials become more dependent on their big campaign contributors. There are the interests that legislators dare not offend.

Earlier this year, Congressional leaders came quite close to a meaningful reform of campaign finances. It came down in the end to a search for a compromise between the wish of the (under-financed) Democrats to cap total spending by a candidate, and the less-limiting

ideas favoured by the Republicans. The issue went to the White House: President George Bush could have got a reform by gently banging a few heads. Instead, he chose to dish the Democrats; for there is an election pending. Chance gone.

It is just possible that the voters will have the last word, for in the Washington mayoral

primary they have just thrown out the front runner, a personable councilman called John Ray who had a spotless reputation. In favour of a previously non-political woman lawyer, Ms Sharon Pratt Dixon. The main charge against Mr Ray was that his \$4m campaign fund had been subscribed largely by local property developers. If other under-financed candidates can play this card effectively in November, the system could be reformed in spite of itself; but nobody is making a book on this outside chance. Policy remains a hostage to the shortest of short-term considerations.

One reason is that the American financial year has slipped into the worst possible timing. Until a few years ago, it used to start with the calendar year on January 1. However, politicians complained that this meant budget negotiations interfered with their holidays - and, every other year, with their campaigning; so the start of the year was moved back a quarter, to October 1. This ensures that every other year

Congress has to vote on contentious issues on the very eve of polling; a result which is very democratic in theory, but paralyzing in practice.

They moved the date the wrong way, of course. Had it been moved forward to a British start in April, the budget process would have come just after national elections instead of just before them. The debate after the President's January proposals would have been shortened from eight months to two, and there would have been no "lame duck" post-election Congresses, distracted by the wish to get away for Christmas. One bar to common sense would thus be removed.

However, you cannot have sensible policies unless you start with sensible objectives, and such objectives cannot result from America's manic-depressive psychosis about the fiscal deficit. One year it doesn't matter, next year it is the root of all evil. It is logically possible to defend Mr Bush's argument that the deficit must be reduced to avert a recession; a cut in interest would certainly relieve this debt-ridden economy.

But when the General Accounting Office (GAO) argues that the long-term objective must be to cut the deficit not by the \$500m which all parties have implausibly promised over the next five years, but by a full trillion dollars, paradox has spilled over into insanity. The GAO, a watchdog agency which fills the role of the British Public Accounts Committee, does much valuable work in detecting waste and corruption but it seems to have taken to grandstanding. In the last few days, it has grabbed the headlines with threatened bank failures, ever more horrific figures for the deficit, and now, trying to turn fiscal policy into a matter of semantics.

To repeat what seems to be needed, the markets are not looking for miracles, or even for meaningless targets, but simply for a sign that there is a policy which looks more than two months ahead, which keeps the numbers moving in the right direction, and above all for the assurance that somebody is in control.

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## The last chance to rescue socialist practice fails

6699

John Lloyd  
on the Soviet collapse

The world is the US's own internal and vigorous democracy, coupled with its anti-imperialist instincts. The collapse of the Soviet efforts to find a "third way" between state socialism and capitalism - lessons which have already been learned and digested in eastern Europe - brings to an end not just the epoch which began in 1917, but that which began in the mid-19th century with the various groups of Marxist, utopian, ethical, administrative and anarchic socialists who produced both an analysis and a moral indictment of capitalism.

Gorbachev's project was a last chance to rescue socialist practice and hold it before the world as a better way to live. Henceforth, a genuinely socialist argument (as distinct from a social democratic one) will be fatally weakened by a riposte which points out the failure of the real thing, both in its original and reformed models.

We thus stand at the end of the first chapter of the new Soviet Union. That chapter might have been called "Resur-

rection?", and it has ended with a negative answer. What will the rest of the narrative bring?

The end of empire? Yes - but that has actually already happened. Now the process is much more complex: a chaotic mish-mash of competing loyalties and divisions across a union which has rather effectively mixed up its peoples so that the national liberation of one is the oppression of others within new boundaries. This is already evident within the three Baltic states - and they are the simplest republics of the union to unpick from the rest. So intertwined, for example, are the Ukraine and the Ukrainians with the Russians that it is doubtful if the much-touted breakaway of this nation of 50m can happen.

The beginning of a market economy? Yes, since there is nowhere else to go. But the plan by Stanislav Shatalin for the 500 days which will shake the USSR to its core is akin to those characters beloved of cartoon films, which run over a cliff and, through the magic of animation, continue to run for a second or two, until gravity exerts its pull. It is a plan for the ending of every relationship, every deal, every reflex which has been in place for the past seven decades and more; and not just "in place", but hammered and forged and twisted into place. No one knows anything else, except in theory. The people who believe

in the market are little groups of liberals in Moscow, Leningrad and the republics' capitals.

Ignorance is not the only problem, even the main one. Co-operatives - the small experiment with semi-private enterprise which has so far been permitted - have received a vastly hostile reception. Indeed, as the legislation to prepare for the new reforms is now being drafted, regulations are slotting into place to limit the scope of their markets and activities. The Soviet Union is a nation in which most of the people have always hated markets and trading and individual betterment. Now that there are no effective communists left to blame for the suppression of initiative, will the people allow it to emerge?

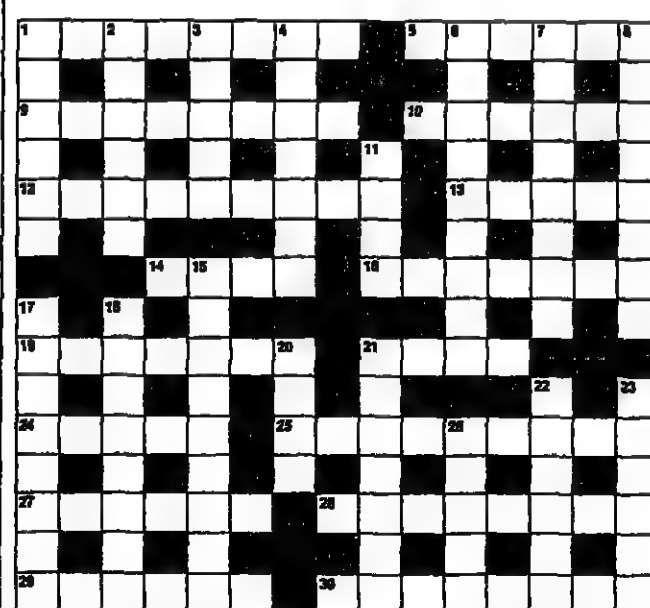
We have seen, for the past five and a half years, a most brilliant display: a Soviet leadership prepared to reduce its state and its ideology to bare bones. The post-imperialist British leaders were not so bold or so precipitate. They preferred to hang on to, certainly to sputter, the rhetoric of grandeur without its substance for years.

In doing what he has done, Gorbachev has received the adulation of the West and the increasing hatred of his own people. We will now see if that hatred can be contained, and the energies harnessed to build, for the first time, a normal state.

JOTTER PAD

## CROSSWORD

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- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p><b>ACROSS</b></p> <p>1 and 9 Raise super plants unexpectedly? It could be this for novice gardener (8,8)</p> <p>5 and 10 Where horses are for hire, both disagreeable and reliable (6-6)</p> <p>9 See 1 across</p> <p>10 See 5</p> <p>12 Omission? Take it as an offence (9)</p> <p>13 Sounds built up reduced to a certain level (5)</p> <p>14 Make reproduction of material for article (4)</p> <p>16 It's unlikely slow man is puffed up (7)</p> <p>19 When losing head at social gathering, something soothing is needed (7)</p> <p>21 Side, one hears, is to come down heavily (4)</p> <p>24 Way out - a tortuous route (5)</p> <p>25 Regular river closure (8)</p> <p>27 and 28 This certainly takes one back (6,8)</p> <p>28 and 30 Odd fool takes in doctored gins, the subject of suspicion (8,6-2)</p> <p>29 See 27</p> <p>30 See 28</p> | <p><b>DOWN</b></p> <p>1 Bill removing name from gate (6)</p> <p>2 Henri caught in trouble needing to improve (6)</p> <p>3 Leather bits sticking up (5)</p> <p>4 In an unpleasant way could be saintly! (7)</p> <p>6 Lay to rest eastern bribe raised to mediate (9)</p> <p>7 Appropriate fraud will (8)</p> <p>8 Responding to pressure and giving up (8)</p> <p>11 Load of students going to the ball (4)</p> <p>15 "O! to be an actor" could give cocktail party relish (5,4)</p> <p>17 The one totally in charge about to change sides under car (8)</p> <p>18 Transported in city area still (8)</p> <p>20 Row one leaves to work one's way forward (4)</p> <p>21 Disturbingly roped in to get a weapon (7)</p> <p>22 The goddesses' violent passions (6)</p> <p>23 Be a man to travel to (4,2)</p> <p>26 Half of each vessel is for milk (6)</p> |
|---|---|

The solution to last Saturday's prize puzzle will be published with names of winners on Saturday September 29.



سكروا ١٥٥

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Free Democrats in search  
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FINANCIAL TIMES SURVEY

HUNGARY

Privatisation: political  
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outsiders, Page 5

SECTION III

Monday September 17 1990



After Hungary's first  
free elections in  
more than 40 years,  
Prime Minister  
Jozsef Antall's

centre-right coalition government is  
grappling with the legacies of  
communism and attempting to  
fashion a strong civil society. Judy  
Dempsey assesses its record

The politics  
of change

THE MOST spectacular development which has occurred in Hungary since its first free elections last April is that it has produced a spectacularly uncharismatic leadership. There are no towering, unpredictable figures such as Poland's Mr Lech Walesa, no denim-clad artists of the kind that surrounded Czechoslovakia's President Vaclav Havel, and few signs of the instability that has plagued Romanian President Ion Iliescu's attempts to build democratic institutions.

Throughout the late 1970s and 1980s, Hungary was often regarded as "different", or "special", compared to other Warsaw Pact countries. Some credit for that is due to the ousted Communist Party, led by the late Mr Janos Kadar from 1956 until his resignation in 1988, and which had tinkered with economic reform as far back as 1968, in the form of the New Economic Mechanism. Cautiously at first, then more forcefully, economists and academics could air their views in the institutes or in other circles. Some, such as Mr Peter Akos Bod, the Minister of Industry, are in the present Government which is led by Mr Jozsef Antall's conservative

Hungarian Democratic Forum. Others, including Mr Marton Tardos, the much-respected reformer, are advisers to the Alliance of Free Democrats, the main opposition party.

The old regime also helped to undermine the debilitating effects of an increasingly outdated foreign policy enunciated with unremitting regularity and unanimity by the Warsaw Pact. As Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, consolidated his position at home, the Hungarian leadership gained confidence to puncture the monolithic-style foreign policy. Whether at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe or the Vienna negotiations on conventional forces reductions, Hungary stood out as a country willing to take risks to protect its interests.

The decision to allow thousands of East Germans to cross from Hungary into neighbouring Austria last September confirmed just how far this small central European state was ready to go. After the East Germans were allowed to leave Hungary, the communist systems of East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania toppled like the bricks of the Berlin Wall.

But when ideological interests could no longer be sustained against growing pressure at home for political reform, Hungary's increasingly divided Communist Party was forced to cede ground by voting itself out of office. There was no popular revolution; there was no palace coup. There were simply elections.

In April, after the second round of polling, the conservative Hungarian Democratic Forum formed a coalition with the small right-wing parties. It then set out to consolidate its position and undo 40 years of Communist rule. The politics of transformation had begun.

The task of reshaping the social, political and economic systems into a strong civil society is daunting.

Prime Minister Jozsef Antall's Government inherited an \$18bn hard currency debt, a large, unproductive and heavily subsidised state sector and 20 per cent inflation. It also inherited an appalling

housing policy, a run-down health system, a polluted environment and an exhausted, over-worked population.

The Government must also cope with the ever-increasing number of poor people. More than 5 per cent of the population live below the minimum subsistence level, which is officially set at Ft6,000 (\$85) a month. To tackle these problems, the Government requires consensus and foreign capital.

The flow of foreign capital is conditional upon Hungary's plans for privatisation.

The Forum's attitude towards privatisation reflects Mr Antall's own temperament: cautious. Such caution seems out of place with the Hungarian character, and certainly with that of the Free Democrats, who want the self-off programme speeded up, even if that entails shock treatment.

But the electorate voted for a conservative, quasi-paternalist party whose policies would not create upheaval and which

February: the politics of transformation begin as workmen remove the red star from the spire of the Parliament Building, Budapest. The Communists, however, bequeathed more than architectural adornments to Hungary's first democratically-elected government for more than four decades. The new coalition, led by the Hungarian Democratic Forum, has inherited a hard currency debt of more than \$20bn, an inflation rate of 27 per cent and rising, and a decline in living standards

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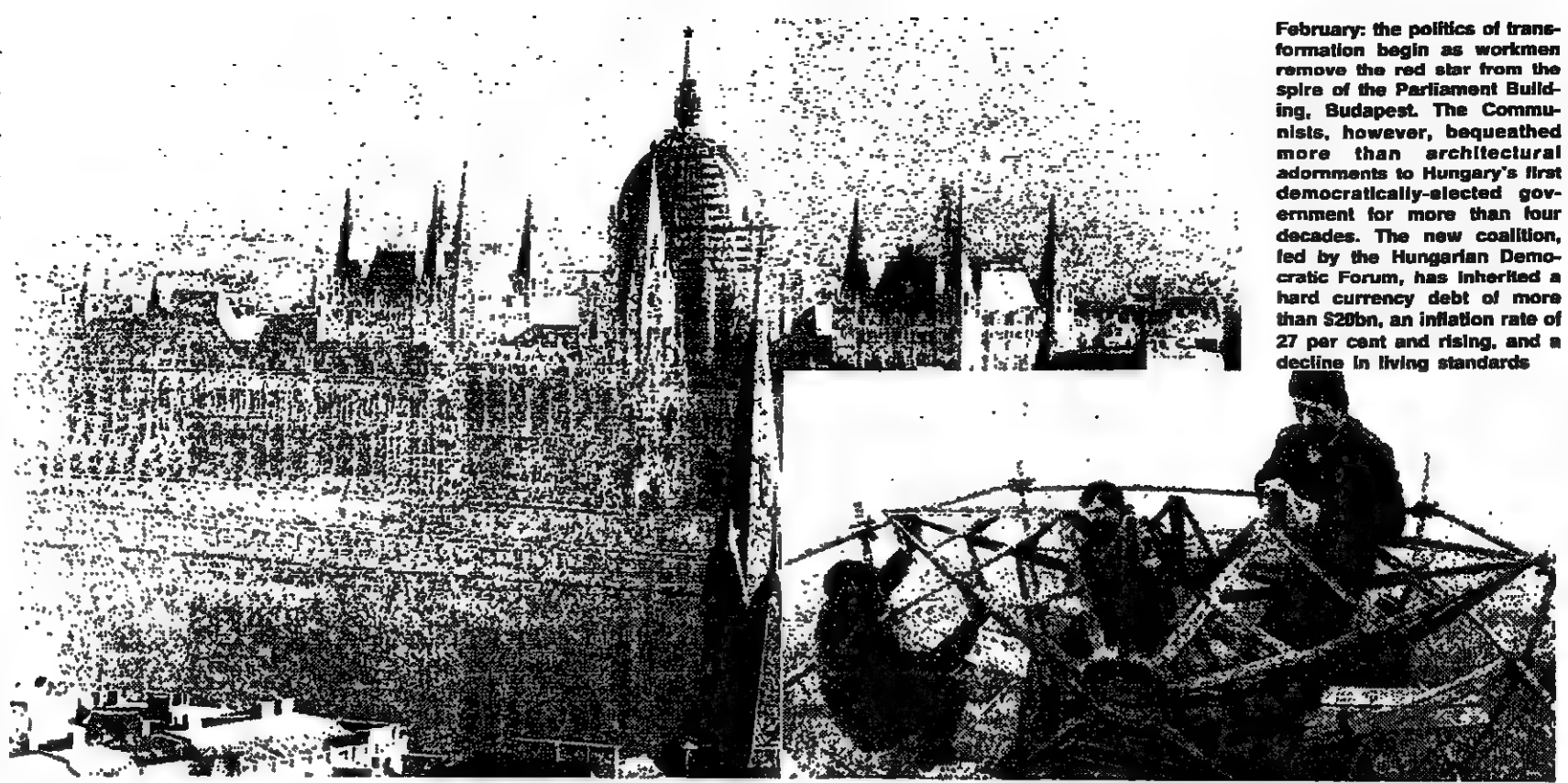
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Editorial Production: Andrew Stale



This partly explains the Forum's caution.

It also partly explains, but does not vindicate, attempts by the Forum during the summer to organise its own civilian guard, similar to the former Communist Workers' Militia. That was when the Forum's leadership showed its more vulnerable side. It denied all responsibility for the idea, blaming the affair on a concierge who just happened to send out detailed instructions to all local party branches.

More sympathetic observers would put the Government's first 100 days down to inexperience. If so, perhaps western expectations are too high.

The Government prefers the backstage to implement the politics of transformation. It may be that as it strengthens its democratic institutions, Hungary will become dull, almost boring. Hungarians see it differently. "We are becoming normal," they say. "That is all we want..."

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## HUNGARY 2

Is the economy ready for wide-ranging liberalisation? Nicholas Denton reports

## On the brink of transformation

MANY Hungarian employees live a Jekyll-and-Hyde existence: they work apathetically during the day in their official jobs, saving energy for more entrepreneurial activity in the second economy after hours. Their lives serve well as a caricature of Hungary's economy.

They - and Hungary - have one foot in each of two economies: one in the vigorous new economy of joint ventures, KFTs (private limited companies) and the steadily growing black economy, oriented to opening western markets and the flood of tourists; the other, a world apart, in the official economy of large State-owned

enterprises, brought to its knees by the collapse of trade with other east European countries and already in deep recession.

Hungary is on the cusp between the two. That is not to say that the embryonic market economy and the remnants of the bureaucratic economy are in any sense balanced. They are not: OECD statistics put the share of the private sector at 15 per cent of GDP, not much, albeit the highest proportion in eastern Europe.

Nor is there a significant debate about the direction Hungary should take: the goal of a market economy, tem-

pered by an effective social welfare system, is hardly questioned.

But Hungary and the Hungarian Government are very much divided between those who argue for a managed diminution of the State sector and those who feel that the private sector is sufficiently resilient to allow for a "big bang." This would entail wage, price, and import liberalisation and tight control of the budget, which together would control the resulting inflationary pressures. This could bring convertibility closer.

Hungary's confusing economic statistics give much

room for different interpretations of the country's economic health.

Industrial production this year looks likely to be 10 per cent below that of last year, pointing to a sharp recession in the State sector and compounding years of stagnant output. But estimates of consumption indicate that the economy will contract by only 1-2 per cent this year.

Industrial production figures may be meaningless because they only cover larger enterprises at a time when these are being split up and when growth is concentrated in smaller firms and the grey economy. Employment presents the same picture: decline in the large company State sector, although unemployment is still only around 1 per cent of the workforce.

An important factor behind the slump in industrial output is the collapse of east European markets for Hungarian goods. Exports denominated in roubles are running 30 per cent down, and imports 30 per cent down, on last year's levels.

But exports in convertible currency, mainly to the west, are about 15 per cent up on last year, and income from tourism is about 80 per cent higher, giving Hungary a \$200m hard currency current account surplus in the first half of 1990, a remarkable improvement of about 4 per cent of GDP on the same period of 1989. This demonstrates a surprising flexibility

with other east European countries, for Hungary does not have the monetary overhang of Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria and the USSR.

**Inflation is at 27 per cent and rising, but hyperinflation has been avoided**

On the other hand, it has so far avoided hyperinflation, unlike Poland and Yugoslavia. Economic output has probably been more resilient than in other east European countries this year.

Hungary has been better able to hold onto western markets than its neighbours: OECD figures show that Hungary lost only 8 per cent of its share of OECD markets between 1979-88, a far better performance than any other east European country. In terms of legislation for foreign investment and the amount, Hungary is years ahead of Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The contrasts have led one economist to describe the Hungarian economy as "the one-eyed king," eastern Europe being the land of the blind. Opinion and Government ministers divide between those who see the economy as half-sighted and those who see it as half-blind.

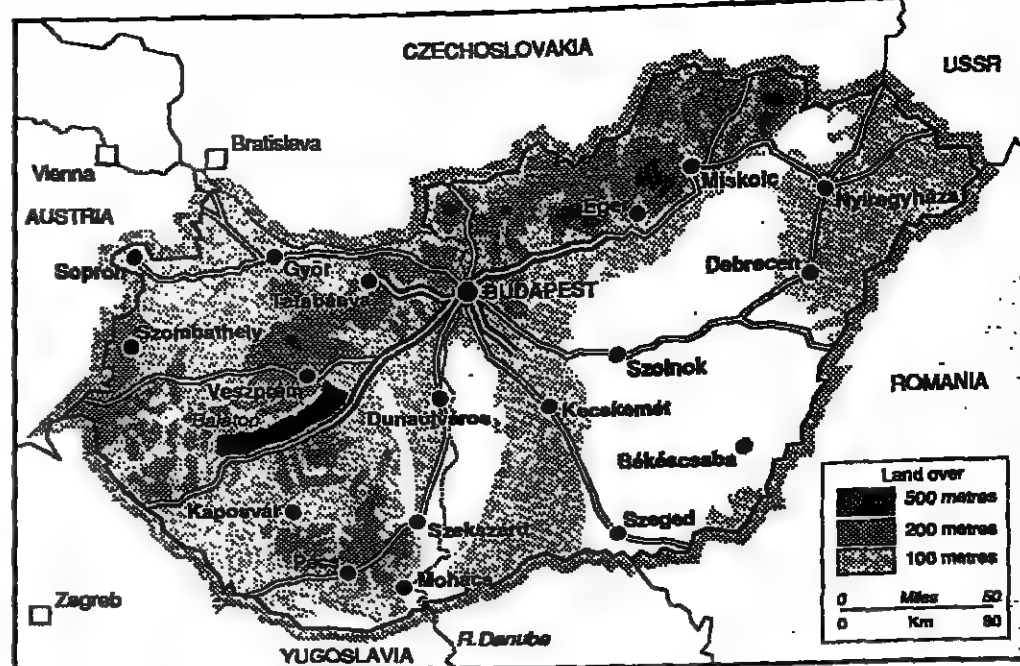
Mr Kadar describes this divide of opinion as one between "institutionalists and structuralists," between "monetarists and realists" and, more provocatively, between "radicals and those who would not like to turn everything upside down."

The starting point for the minister is that for the next few years, the State sector will be central to the economy and that it has to be managed, rather than left to the free play of market forces. Macroeconomic stabilisation has to wait for more extensive privatisation, which will take time.

Mr Kadar sees no point in applying Polish-style macro-economic stabilisation to an economy as rigid as Hungary's. In his view, it would carry too many dangers: 200 per cent inflation, 30-40 per cent unemployment, a 20-25 per cent drop in production.

But then, the conservatives tend to base their caution in a gloomy evaluation of the economy. Mr Kadar cites the slump in industrial production and stresses that the private sector is too small for its rapid growth to be able to take up the running. He predicts a 2-4 per cent fall in GDP this year.

"All our statistics are false," says Mr Gyorgy Matolcsy, a fervent believer in the vitality of the economy. "There is a semi-legal economy under the surface and it can substitute for the legal economy. I have to believe in the strength of this process," Mr Matolcsy's vision is to rechannel the undeniable



## KEY FACTS

Area ..... 93,030 sq km  
Population ..... 10.57 million  
Head of State ..... President Arpad Göncz  
Currency ..... Forint = 100 filler  
Average Exch Rate ..... 1989 \$1 = Ft59.04  
September 1990 \$1 = Ft83.42

ECONOMY	1989	1990
Total GDP (US\$bn)	28.0	28.0
Real GDP growth (%)	0.4	-1.5
GDP per capita (US\$)	2643	2645
Components of GDP (%)		
Private Consumption	61.0	
Others	21.1	
Increase in Stocks	3.8	n.a.
Government Consumption	11.3	
Exports	27.9	
Imports	-34.8	
Origin of GDP by sector (%)		
Agriculture	20.4	
Manufacturing and construction	43.1	n.a.
Services	36.5	
Current Account Balance (US\$bn)	-0.59	-1.44
Exports (US\$bn)	5.79	6.45
Imports (US\$bn)	5.12	5.91
Trade Balance (US\$bn)	0.67	0.54
Main Trading Partners (% of total value)		
Exports		
USSR	27.6	25.1
West Germany	11.0	12.0
Austria	5.7	6.5
EC	22.7	24.8
Imports		
USSR	25.0	22.1
West Germany	13.9	15.1
Austria	7.2	8.6
EC	25.4	29.0
Gross external debt (US\$bn)	18.6	20.6
Consumer prices (% change)		
1989	15.7	17.0
Total reserves minus gold (US\$bn)	1.8	1.7
Discount Rate (% and period)	10.5	10.5
Dependency ratio	42.8	42.7

Gross Fixed Capital Formation in convertible currencies only  
% of Population under 15 and over 65  
Source: IMF, Datastream, Economist Intelligence Unit.

entrepreneurial drive of State employees through privatisation. "They do it illegally now. They steal materials and use the company. In future they can buy it, with a loan. They won't have to lie, they won't have to hide."

Mr Kadar and Mr Matolcsy, and the factions they represent, come to the central issue of economic policy from very distant starting points. In crude terms, the question is: "Big Bang" or not?

Hungary's economic problems are a "Gordian knot," says Professor Janos Kornai, whose book *The Road to a Free Economy* makes the most complete intellectual case for a "Big Bang," a comprehensive and simultaneous liberalisation of the economy.

**In the worst case, the economy will 'muddle through' as it has for years**

Professor Kornai stresses the interdependence of economic measures. "You cannot successfully privatise without stabilisation, you cannot stabilise the economy without a certain minimum privatisation," he says. "There is a critical mass (of measures); do less and you go back to gradualism."

Already the debate is heating up. Mr Matolcsy promises an acceleration of privatisation. The Finance Ministry has prepared a package plan for the new year involving Ft800m of subsidy cuts, to complement Hungary's tight monetary policy (interest rates are more than 30 per cent) with a tightening of fiscal policy and allow a further liberalisation of prices.

Mr Kadar makes a thinly veiled attack on this approach. "Economic policy is not enlightened enough to know that in times of recession an anti-cyclical policy is necessary. ... The Hungarian economy cannot be managed by monetary policy."

On the issue of convertibility, the litmus test of macro-economic radicalism, the two sides are far apart. "We are pushed, forced towards convertibility during next year," Mr Matolcsy stresses. His views contrast sharply with those of Mr Kadar who, before

he became a Minister, saw "no economic evidence for the beneficial effects of convertibility." Now he speaks of the move taking two to three years. Even if the Government does not fear an apocalypse, in the worst case, the economy will "muddle through" as it has for many years. It is operating so far below its potential that, in the long term, the only way it can go is up.

delay since the Government took office in May. "It is one thing to make all necessary preparations; another to rationalise cowardice." But Mr Kornai does not fear an apocalypse. In the worst case, the economy will "muddle through" as it has for many years. It is operating so far below its potential that, in the long term, the only way it can go is up.

**Confusing statistics give much room for different interpretations**

ity on the part of companies who have redirected deliveries from eastern markets to the West.

Hungary needs to achieve a hard currency current account balance to contain a foreign debt of \$300m - the highest per capita in eastern Europe. Financial stability is fragile. Despite Hungary's healthy hard currency current account this year and sophisticated management of debt by the Hungarian National Bank, eastern banks withdrew \$800m in short-term deposits in the spring, bringing the reserves down to crisis levels of \$1bn.

Hungary survived the trauma only through political pressure on the banks to return their money, a \$200m bridging loan from the Bank for International Settlements, the doubling of domestic hard currency deposits to \$450m over the last three months and the unexpectedly healthy current account.

Inflation, at 27 per cent and rising, is another preoccupying worry. The Government's tight monetary policy is undermined by the intractable problem of "queuing-up": cascading non-payment of bills by insolvent companies. When economists and officials are feeling particularly gloomy, they cheer themselves up with compar-

## ECONOMIC POLICY-MAKERS

## Intimate network

HUNGARY'S post-communist economic policy-making establishment has the intimacy of a university senior common room. This might have been expected: the leading figures come from a close network of academics who worked on the margins of Government and have known each other for decades. They have more in common with each other than with the parties they have attached themselves to.

As Director of the State Planning Institute, Mr Bela Kadar, now Minister of International Economic Relations, sheltered his subordinate Mr Peter Akos Bod, now Minister of Industry, while the latter worked on the Hungarian Democratic Forum's economic policy. The couple form the more cautious wing of the Government.

Mr Kadar is the intellectual heavyweight of the two, while Mr Bod's charm comes across in interviews and on television. Mr Bod, incidentally, once co-authored a paper with Mr Miklos Nemeth, the former Socialist Prime Minister.

Mr Ferenc Rabar, Minister of Finance, taught at the Budapest

University of Economics and represents the Cabinet's radical wing. The Cabinet rules give him precedence over his ministerial rivals and he is backed by Mr Gyorgy Vona-Osvath, a Hungarian emigré and influential adviser to the Prime Minister.

But the Finance Ministry is regarded as weak and Mr Rabar complains privately that Mr Gyorgy Matolcsy usurps his role. The two men are nevertheless allies in promoting a

**The leading figures come from a close circle of academics**

radical economic reform package. However, Mr Matolcsy, the 36-year-old State Secretary for Economic Policy at the Prime Minister's office has power which goes far beyond his official title.

Mr Matolcsy's access to the Prime Minister, his role as co-ordinator of economic policy and his energy make him central and in some ways more

powerful than the cabinet ministers. His breeding ground is that of many radical young economists, the Financial Research Company, where he worked under the then-director, Mr Martin Tardos.

Mr Tardos, one of Hungary's cleverest and best-known radical economists, is a shadow minister of the opposition Alliance of Free Democrats. Mr Tardos's colleague, Mr Karoly Attila Soos, is close to Mr Gyorgy Suranyi, the new President of the Hungarian National Bank, and Mr Lajos Bokros, the first President of the Stock Exchange Council. These two, both in their thirties, co-authors of a book, and both of the Financial Research School, are described by a former tutor as "like brothers."

Not that the economic establishment is exceptional: Mr Geza Jesevsky, formerly Dean of the Budapest University of Economics, is married to the niece of a fellow historian, Prime Minister Mr Jozsef Antall, whose mother lived with the couple.

Nicholas Denton

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Judy Dempsey analyses the political landscape after the first free elections for 45 years

## Coming to terms with democracy

THE marriage between the governing Hungarian Democratic Forum and the opposition Alliance of Free Democrats in Parliament is all but over.

The honeymoon period was good while it lasted. But the Free Democrats, who are now searching desperately for a political and ideological role, reckon their pact with the Forum has outlived its usefulness, and that it is time to become a real opposition.

It would have been difficult to forecast such a marriage before the two rounds of parliamentary elections which were held in March and April.

These two big parties, each anxious to form the government, spent most of the time slinging mud at each other. But on a deeper level, both parties represented the historical cleavage in Hungarian society.

The origins of that cleavage go back to the period between the two world wars when Hungary, traumatised and disoriented, was licking its wounds following the Treaty of Trianon. That treaty stripped the country of two-thirds of its territory and created massive social instability.

A left-wing coup staged by Bela Kun in 1919 gave way to a nationalist, right-wing regime which provided a fertile breeding ground for the fascist Arrow Cross movement in the late 1930s.

During those two turbulent decades, a group of intellectuals, mostly Jewish who lived in Budapest, founded the Nyugat (West) Journal. Essentially, the journal provided a platform for debate. More importantly, it persistently argued that Hungary's roots were deeply embedded in the western bourgeois tradition.

Outside Budapest, the populists, roughly equivalent to

SEATS IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY		
Party	Total Seats	% of Vote
Hungarian Democratic Forum	164	42.29
Alliance of Free Democrats	92	23.83
Independent Smallholders Party	44	11.40
Hungarian Socialist Party	33	8.55
Alliance of Young Democrats	21	5.44
Christian Democratic Party	21	5.44
Agrarian Alliance	1	0.26

Source: Magyar Hírlap, April 10, 1990

Russia's Narodna i Volga movement, were more inspired by Hungary's cultural traditions and held a rather nostalgic and romantic view of the peasantry. The populists, led by the poet, Gyula Illyes, also tended to see Hungarian society divided between the "urbanists" - the Budapest-based intellectuals - and those other professions, school teachers, lawyers and doctors living in the provinces.

This "divide" transmitted itself into ideology as well. While the "urbanists" were social democratic, pro-western and liberal in outlook, the "populists" were right of centre, somewhat ambiguous towards the west, and nationalist.

It is too much of an exaggeration to argue that this cleavage is today precisely reflected or symbolised by the Forum and the Free Democrats.

True, what is taking place in Hungary and indeed in all of eastern Europe is not the discontinuity of the Communist past, but the continuity of the interwar period. However, the effects on social values after 40 years of Communist rule, the impact of forced modernisation, rapid industrialisation and the attendant social upheaval cannot be ignored.

These issues, Hungary's interwar experiences, its all too brief experiment in democracy after 1945, and Commu-

nist rule, provide the legacy which Hungary's newly-elected democratic Parliament has inherited. Against this background, a marriage between the Forum and the Free Democrats was the only means to contain the pre-election bickering and get parliamentary democracy on the road.

The pact was signed on April 29. In exchange for their agreement to a detailed set of constitutional changes, which restrict the required two-thirds parliamentary majority to 90 bills, the Free Democrats were given the Presidency (Mr Arpad Göncz, a respected writer with whom Mr József Antall, the Prime Minister could work) with expanded powers; guarantees that the media would be independent; and the status of the "official opposition."

Both sides won something. More importantly, it gave Parliament a chance to settle in. However, the pact, always seen as a short-term experiment, is now coming to an end. A Government is in place, a President has been installed, and now the Free Democrats must find their true role as an opposition party.

It will not be easy. Over the past few weeks, FIDESZ, the Alliance of Young Democrats, have shown itself to be a lively and articulate opposition in Parliament. In addition, the Young Democrats are popular outside the debating chamber.

Because they are young, do not have power, and have few hang-ups about the past, they have provided a breath of fresh air to the stodgy, deeply serious debating style and arguments of the Forum and Free Democrats.

Moreover, FIDESZ, unlike the Forum, is not obsessed about its public image, either at home or abroad. Unlike the Free Democrats, they know how to communicate with ordinary people.

The Free Democrats' greatest drawback is that they have yet to find their place in the political spectrum. While the liberal wing shies away from the party donning what should be its true mantle - a social democratic party - the social democrats in the party still feel that "socialist" or "left-wing" politics will alienate the electorate because such labels were so abused under the Communists.

But in the present political set-up, the working class has no party to represent its interests. The trades union movement, itself in turmoil, should have found a natural ally in the Free Democrats. "The Free Democrats have to find their true role. We need a partner on the side of labour. They must accept that five million people are outside the political arena."



October 7 1989: Delegates to the Hungarian Communist Party convention vote to dissolve the party and replace it with the democratic Hungarian Socialist Party

## Countdown to Power

1986: October  
Political inertia and economic decline force a group of academics into drawing up a radical paper entitled "Change and Reform". It is supported by Communist reformer Mr Imre Pozsgay and heralds the breakdown in consensus both inside and outside the party.

1987: September  
A meeting of writers and reformers meet in the town of Lakitelek, east of Budapest. The Hungarian Democratic Forum is launched.

1988: May  
Mr János Kádár, Communist Party leader since 1956, is ousted. Mr Karoly Grosz is appointed in an effort to unite the party, but Mr Pozsgay wants faster change.

1988: Autumn  
Demands for political change increase. The authorities prepare a draft law on associations aimed at legalising political parties.

1989: January  
The pace of change accelerates. Mr Pozsgay announces to the world that the 1956 "counter-revolution" was in fact a "popular uprising".

The great taboo is broken. In one sentence, the Communists and the Soviet Union are publicly discredited for suppressing 1956.

They need representation," says Mr Elemér Hankiss, the recently-appointed head of Hungarian television. Indeed, it would not be surprising if, in the next few years, the Hungarian Socialist (formerly Communist) Party was completely revamped in such a way that they might become attractive partners for the left-wing of the Free Democrats.

The Democratic Forum is in a more privileged position, in that it can hold the party together precisely because they it is in power and therefore able to grant political favours. Nevertheless, Mr Antall has to contend with three different wings in the party.

The first is the centre/liberal wing, which Mr Antall represents but which is not the dominant force in the party. The second, the populist/nationalist wing, is led by the writers, Mr István Csorba and Mr Demes

1989: May  
Mr Imre Nagy, the Hungarian Prime Minister who was executed for his part in the 1956 rising, is reburied; Hungarians regain their past.

1989: October 23  
Thirty-one years after the outbreak of the 1956 uprising, the Hungarian Republic is declared. Hungarians, seeped in emotion, pull the red star out of the tricolour. They are on the path to independence.

1990: March 25  
Hungarians go to the polls to elect, for the first time in over five decades, an independent Parliament.

1990: April 8  
The Hungarian Democratic Forum wins enough votes to form the new Government. Mr József Antall, the Prime Minister designate, starts forming a coalition with the small right-wing parties.

1990: May 2  
Mr Arpad Göncz, a writer and supporter of the liberal Alliance of Free Democrats, the largest of the opposition parties, is chosen as President.

1990: June 28  
The Government unveils an austerity package to satisfy the International Monetary Fund's conditions on the budget deficit on which new credits are dependent.

Csengey, who appear to spend a great deal of time pondering the fate of the Hungarian verb. The third, Christian wing is neo-conservative, ultra-conservative and wants religious instruction introduced in all schools.

Mr Antall, himself a cautious, aloof, former school teacher, seems able to keep a firm hand on the party. But his critics say he is too slow in disassociating himself from the party's nationalist wing which seems intent on cultivating an inward-looking Hungary, bred on folklore, literature and resentment of the Treaty of Trianon.

Mr Antall's more sympathetic supporters say he is learning on the job. Give him time, they plea. "Nobody has tried to create a democratic society after a despotic and tyrannical Communist rule," says Mr Antall.

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March 25 1990: voting begins in Hungary's first free election for 45 years

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## HUNGARY 4

Hungary must now address relations with its neighbours, writes Judy Dempsey

## Finding a new foreign policy

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TISZACHEM

ON A SUNDAY evening, one  
year ago this month, Mr Gyula  
Horn, the then Hungarian for-  
eign minister, appeared on tele-  
vision. This quiet-spoken  
career diplomat and skilful poli-  
tician hardly raised his voice  
in an announcement which  
was to have far-reaching conse-  
quences for eastern Europe.

He said that his Government  
had decided to allow thousands  
of East Germans to cross freely  
into Austria. Minutes later, the  
border crossing into Austria at  
Hegyeshalom was thrown  
open. To see the joy of young  
East Germans popping open  
bottles of Russian champagne,  
pushing their two-stroke Tra-  
bant cars to the west, and  
embracing each other, was an  
unforgettable and moving  
experience.

By refusing to send the East  
Germans back home and by  
allowing them to go to the  
west, Hungary provided a  
route around the Berlin Wall.  
In doing so, Hungary precipi-  
tated the revolutions of eastern  
Europe.

On reflection, Hungary's  
decision was rooted in the way  
it had conducted foreign policy.  
For years, a small group of  
people attached to the Commu-  
nist Party's Central Commit-  
tee's foreign policy department  
had been chipping away at the  
monolithic and monotonous  
way in which all foreign policy  
decisions had been directed  
from Moscow.

Although few deign to men-  
tion his name, Mr Janos Kadar,  
the Communist Party leader  
from 1956 to 1988, gave young  
officials a certain leeway to  
test Moscow's willingness  
in allowing Hungary carve out its  
own identity on certain issues,  
especially on human rights.

More particularly, the Hun-  
garians used the pan-European  
Conference on Security and  
Co-operation in Europe (CSCE)  
to puncture repeatedly the  
sacred cow of eastern Europe's  
predictable unanimity on for-  
eign policy issues.

In fact, the CSCE became a  
legitimising basis upon which  
Hungary's foreign policy was  
based. Pragmatism also played a  
role. Hungarian foreign min-  
istry officials, even before the  
Communists were ousted from  
power last April, agreed that  
breaking relations with Israel  
after the 1967 Six-Day War had  
been a mistake. Thus, in  
autumn 1987, Hungary became  
the first East European coun-  
try to start re-establishing di-  
plomatic relations with Israel.  
Establishing relations with  
South Korea, once regarded as  
the capitalist scourge of east-  
ern Europe, soon followed.

The Hungarians made no  
bones about the direction of  
this side of its foreign policy:  
trade and economic contacts  
were just as important as  
breaking out of the strangle-  
hold of Soviet foreign policy  
decision-making.

That legacy may appear a  
dazzling one for Mr Geza Jesz-  
zenszky, the new Foreign Min-  
ister. His ministry has to come  
to terms with the situation  
that compared to even six  
months ago, post-communist  
Hungary is no longer special  
and thus no longer singled out  
by the international commu-  
nity for its decision. Hungary  
is becoming normal, and its  
foreign policy must reflect that  
situation.

But Mr Jeszzenszky and his  
foreign ministry colleagues  
rejoice that behind the facade  
of normality of the new eastern  
Europe, the old antagonisms  
and ethnic disputes which had  
remained taboo under commu-  
nism, but which are now being  
revived, Hungary must now  
address issues much closer to  
home: its relations with its  
neighbours.

The common thread influ-  
encing Hungary's foreign policy  
with its neighbours, is the  
future status of the ethnic  
Hungarian minority in Tran-  
sylvania, Romania and in Slo-  
vakia.

Some critics suggest that the  
Hungarian Democratic Forum,  
the Conservative-led coalition  
Government, is obsessed to the  
point of hysteria about this  
issue; that the political  
antenna of Mr Jozsef Antall,  
the Hungarian Prime Minister,  
are not sensitive enough to  
understand that when he says  
he is the spiritual leader of 15  
million Hungarians, his critics,  
especially his Romanian coun-  
terparts, interpret this as a  
challenge by Hungary to revive  
old territorial claims.

Such misinterpreted state-  
ments, mutual suspicion and  
bottles of Russian champagne,  
pushing their two-stroke Tra-  
bant cars to the west, and  
embracing each other, was an  
unforgettable and moving  
experience.

Bucharest and Budapest re-  
vealed in the euphoria following  
the toppling of the Ceausescu  
regime last December. Buc-  
harest, because Romania  
would now be welcomed back  
into the fold of the interna-  
tional community; Budapest,  
because it hoped it could make  
a fresh start in relations with  
Romania and in particular,  
that the future status of the  
ethnic Hungarian minority  
which lives in Romania's  
northern region of Transyl-  
vania, could be settled amicably.

The hopes on both sides  
were high, which Mr Horn,  
who was the first Foreign Min-  
ister to visit Bucharest days  
after the revolution, did not  
conceal. There, the ruling  
National Salvation Front,

Hungary  
precipitated the  
revolutions of  
eastern Europe

which was catapulted into  
power, promised to restore the  
Hungarian language university  
in Cluj, or Kolosvar as it is  
known to the Hungarians. The  
NSF also promised to re-open  
the Hungarian consulate in  
Cluj, which Ceausescu had  
ordered closed.

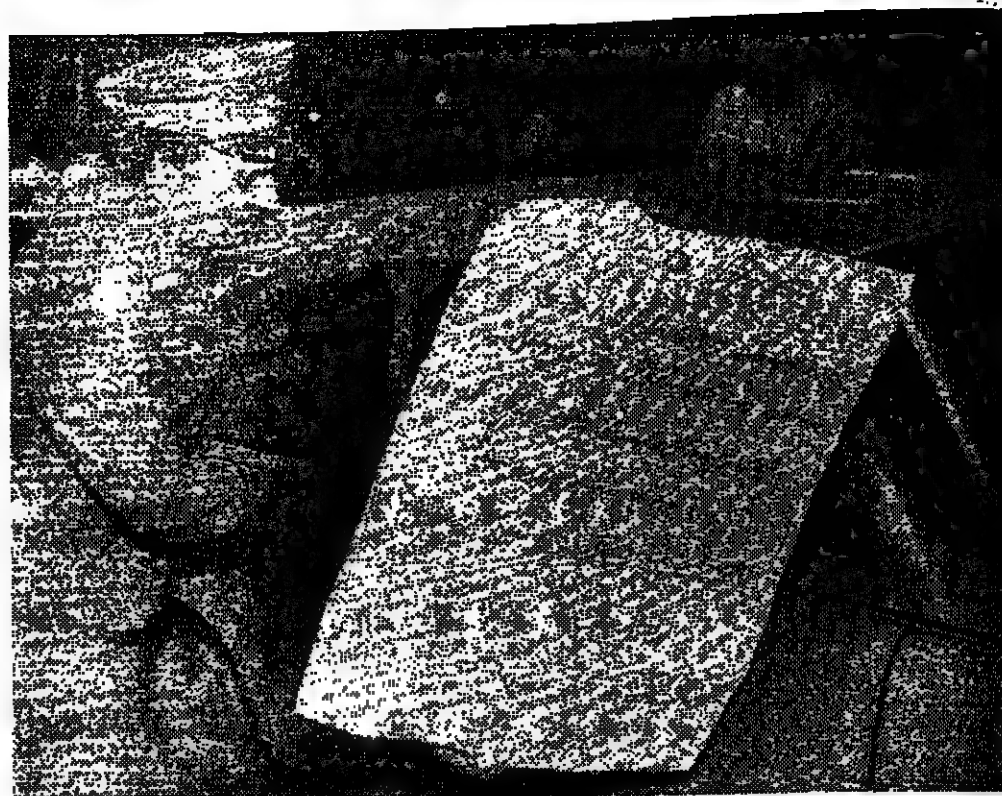
But the euphoria has turned  
stale. Following frightening  
ethnic violence between Hun-  
garians and Romanians in  
Transylvania last March, re-  
lations between the two coun-  
tries have been filled with  
recrimination. Mr Jeszzenszky  
went so far as to say that the  
NSF was adopting old  
Ceausescu/Communist tactics  
by deploying the nationalist  
card to whip up resentment  
against the ethnic Hungarian  
minority.

Since then a bitter, micro-  
phone diplomacy has replaced  
serious talks to restore a  
modus vivendi between the  
two countries.

A depressing war of words  
has stolen the euphoria of the  
Revolution. Relations between  
both countries are now at rock  
bottom.

What is at issue?  
Romanian officials say the  
Hungarians are waging a pro-  
paganda campaign against  
their country, to the extent  
that they want to redraw the  
borders and perhaps even  
reclaim Transylvania. This is a  
fantastic idea. Any change in  
post-war eastern European  
borders would have far-reaching  
consequences for the rest of  
the region — and indeed for  
Europe, as Romania and Hun-  
gary both fully realise. What  
Hungary wants, according to  
Mr Jeszzenszky, is "is respect  
for the minority's ethnic  
rights."

Hungary wants similar  
rights extended to the 500,000-  
strong ethnic minority in  
neighbouring Slovakia. But the  
situation is even more com-  
plex. For in Slovakia, often  
regarded as Bohemia's poor  
cousin, nationalists have in-  
creased their calls for an in-  
dependent state separate from  
Prague. So far, the federal government  
has responded by drawing up a



September 1988: Hungarian border guard waves East German drivers through into Austria. Below: anti-Romanian march, Budapest. Relations between Hungary and Romania are strained



plan aimed at establishing a  
loose confederal structure. But  
if the momentum for Slovak  
independence increases, the  
Hungarian authorities ask  
what place the 500,000 ethnic  
Hungarian minority would  
have in this new arrangement.

Relations with Yugoslavia  
are influenced also by the  
treatment of the small Hun-  
garian minority in the province  
of Vojvodina, which is now ruled  
directly from Belgrade. Until  
recently, Budapest had no  
quarrels with Yugoslavia over  
the question of ethnic and  
minority rights. But since the  
rise to power of Mr Slobodan  
Milosevic, the President of  
Serbia, the Hungarian Foreign  
Ministry has been concerned  
that the ethnic and cultural  
rights of the minorities in  
Vojvodina will be curtailed.

One way in which the Hun-  
garians believe ethnic disputes  
and closer ties with its neigh-  
bours can be improved is  
through bringing together the  
countries of the region under  
one broad umbrella. The Pen-  
tagonale, an Italian initiative  
involving Poland, Czechoslo-  
vakia, Hungary, Italy and some  
of the republics of Yugoslavia,  
aims at improving such re-  
lations by co-operating on trans-  
port, environment, and other  
trans-border problems.

The Hungarians believe the  
CSCE can also play a greater  
role in resolving disputes  
within Europe. And if anyone  
is sceptical that old antago-  
nisms or disputes continue in  
eastern Europe, the Hungar-  
ians will quickly dispel them of  
any such illusions.

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## HUNGARY 5

Political vacillation and difficulties in valuation are the main problems, writes Nicholas Denton

## Privatisation programme under pressure

TO DEMONSTRATE the enormity of the task before them, Hungarian officials are fond of pointing out that at Britain's rate of privatisation - 5 per cent of Gross Domestic Product over 10 years - it would take Hungary more than a century to reduce state control of the economy to the desired Western levels. Hungary does not have that long.

As the Polish example has shown, stabilisation of the economy is painful. The Government aims to reduce the share of the state sector from 90 per cent to 40 per cent of GDP by 1995.

But privatisation is hardly taking off in Hungary. By the end of last year, more than 100bn had been transformed into shares, a pittance when one considers that State property has a book value of Ft2500bn.

In addition, many of the new shareowners are themselves

## A distrust of foreign investors and big business is implicit

state companies. The closest thing to real privatisation of large companies has been the transfer of assets to joint ventures or the taking on board of a direct foreign stake. Even this involves the dilution of State property rather than outright sale.

One reason for pessimism is that the urgency of privatisation conflicts with political imperatives.

It is a dilemma that particularly afflicts the present conservative Government and introduces a dangerous ambivalence to policy, in the face of which the Government has given every impression of vacillation.

This is because the Hungarian Democratic Forum came to power on a picturesque vision of an egalitarian property-owning society of small businesses, however much that vision was framed by its welcome to foreign investment and a western-style market economy.

Mr Marton Tardos, an economist to the opposition Alliance of Free Democrats, characterises such an approach in the following way: "We would like to have private property but only those private owners who sweat with their employees."

A distrust of foreign investors and big business is implicit and often to be heard in Parliament from the Forum. At the end of last month, the opposition criticised the Government's exclusion of foreigners from small retail privatisation as "nationalist", which Forum MPs applauded as if the description were a compliment.



Assembly line of the Ikarus bus factory at Matyasfold. Hungarian officials concede that the privatisation of such ailing giants - Ikarus is on the verge of bankruptcy - will be problematic

However, quick privatisation involves a politically unpalatable role for foreign investors. For Hungarian individuals and the new KFTs (pics) do not have the capital to buy state assets in bulk and the granting of privatisation credits will play havoc with monetary policy.

Quick privatisation also implies the persistence of what the Hungarians call "spontaneous privatisation," which was anathema to the Forum in this year's election campaign.

In its pejorative sense, this means the dilution of State ownership by the introduction of foreign capital, as Communist-appointed SOE (State-owned enterprises) managers try to avoid a Government purge or to enrich themselves.

But spontaneous privatisation can be respectable too, and it is enjoying a revival. The sale of State assets is too

bulky to be initiated by the Government alone. Privatisation, to date, has been almost entirely spontaneous and the technique is likely to continue to dominate.

Finally, rapid and extensive privatisation means controversial low prices for state assets. Few companies are in a position

## The sale of State assets is too bulky for the Government to handle alone

tion to pay little more than the sale price without expensive and time-consuming restructuring.

Furthermore, the problems in valuing Hungarian companies introduce an added element of risk for the buyer

which requires a price discount in compensation.

When obsolete inventories, bad debts and artificially cheap supplies are taken into account, a Hungarian company's theoretical profits often evaporate.

On one side ministers have to respond to the qualms of their MPs, few of which they share, and pay lip-service to Forum philosophy.

From the other they are stung by criticism of foreign investors, to which the sophisticated technocrats at the summit of Government are extraordinarily sensitive.

The Government's desire to control privatisation and the supervisory body, the State Property Agency (SPA), has already cost some time.

The bungled replacement of Mr Istvan Tompe by Mr Lajos Csepi as managing director of the SPA set privatisation back

two months, according to insiders. The assertion of direct Government control of the agency took most of the summer.

Furthermore, ministerial criticism of the flotation in May of Ibusz, the national travel agency, did incalculable damage. It discredited the SPA, sparked off a disruptive debate on the nature of privatisation and slowed its momentum.

Foreign investors are already complaining about the delay. Last month Mr Andrew Sarkos, a key figure in the Central European Development Corporation and the First Hungarian Fund, two of the largest investment funds, made a veiled threat to take his money elsewhere.

He complained of the sluggishness of privatisation and the hassle involved in any deal. Mr Sarkos is not alone. Mr Kevin Pakenham, managing director of John Govett, whose Hungarian investment company has \$100m to invest, gives the Government a deadline: the first quarter of next year. Still, he is hopeful. "The Government is being told by enough people from enough angles not to fall into the trap of being over-bureaucratic," he says. "It is too early to be really disconcerted."

"I am pushed on: the Government is pushed on," says Mr Gyorgy Matolcsy, the Government official responsible for privatisation strategy, responding to criticism of delay. "There are no more excuses," he confesses, as he promises that the plans will become concrete towards the end of September.

The Government will tackle "the easy part first." The retail privatisation, the first to go before Parliament, presents the fewest ideological problems for the Forum: if small businesses can prosper anywhere, it will be in this sector.

Then comes the sale of Hungary's blue-chip companies, "the flagships," many based on the model stockmarket flotation of Ibusz, which was the first company to be privatised. A large proportion of the shares will probably be reserved for Hungarian investors.

Mr Matolcsy identifies hotel and pharmaceutical companies as prime candidates. The list of the flagships varies from week to week, a telling demonstration of the Government's vacillation. Mr Matolcsy talks of anything between 20-40 cases. But Chemo, the pharmaceutical company, and Hungaribo-

tele, the country's largest hotel chain, are on most versions of the list.

With Hungaribo, the Government is retracing old steps: the sale to Quintus, the Swedish investment firm, of 51.6 per cent of the stock for \$150m last December was later cancelled.

Far more problematic will be the privatisation of Hungary's ailing engineering giants, such as Ikarus and Csepel Auto, which produce buses, and Videoton, the electronics company, which are all on the verge of bankruptcy. These fall into Mr Matolcsy's "reorganisation group."

Foreign investors will be given freer rein because these companies need new technology and an overhauled management, and because no sane Hungarian investor would touch them.

The typical solution will be for a foreign investor to become a core but minority shareholder.

One overarching idea is that the Government should set the terms of reference of a sale, put the planning out to tender, and appoint the winner lead manager.

In the phrase of Mr Tardos, it should "privatise the privatisation."

There is a growing aware-

## Foreign investors are already complaining about the delay

ness that this controlled privatisation can be only part of the whole if privatisation is not to take a century.

Mr Matolcsy talks of a "richer" recipe: "It's a cake which contains three different ingredients."

He envisages that privatisation can be initiated not just

by Government, but by State-owned companies themselves or by the prospective buyer.

The second, Mr Matolcsy admits, is "very similar to the present spontaneous privatisation programme." The last is innovative. A "raider" can make an approach to the SPA, which handles state assets, with a bid for part or all of its target. This would spark an auction, at which a company with longstanding relations with the Hungarian company would be "first in the queue."

None of these methods will be perfect, officials stress. "There will be no ideal and completely flawless cases," says Mr Janos Martonyi, member of the SPA board. "There will always be protests, whatever happens: it's absolutely normal." But the Government's emphasis on a diversity of approaches at least offers the hope of the survival of the fittest in a difficult political environment.

"Nobody has any knowledge of how a mass privatisation will go," Mr Tardos says. "All programmes are very risky, very dangerous." His prescription, which the Government appears inclined to follow, is pragmatic: "Launch many channels and be flexible."

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## HOUSING

## Waiting lists grow

WHEN more inquiring visitors to Hungary ask what books they should read before encountering this remarkably stimulating country, I frequently suggest Janos Kenedi's *Do It Yourself*.

No, this is not about how to live on \$25 a day in Hungary, nor is it about how to put up bookshelves or how to repair a burst pipe. It is something much more fundamental. It explains how to acquire land, money, connections, spare parts, materials and energy to build, and own, a house.

The book, banned by the authorities for several years, has been a wild success. It was something with which all Hungarians could identify: the chronic housing shortage, the pervasive corruption and the enormous amount of time and energy people spent in their quest for a home.

Under the *ancien regime* several half-hearted attempts were made to alleviate the housing problem. During the 1950s and 1960s, the Communists built drab high-rise flats. Even though rents were fixed, there was simply never enough capital to meet the growing housing shortage, let alone maintain the current stock.

Instead, those who could afford it - and who had connections in the Budapest City Council - bought a patch of land and began the tortuous task of acquiring bricks and mortar, which were always in short supply. People stole from the state. A dentist agreed to repair, free of charge, a friend's dentures if that friend was a plumber employed officially by the State but who used its materials to earn vast sums of money moonlighting. A truck driver would load an extra ton of state-manufactured bricks onto the back of his lorry and deliver them to a doctor who would then give his family priority in the local clinic. Everything and anything was done on the black economy.

However, while those with connections found the rafters and slates, the less well-off ended up on the waiting list at the local municipal authorities.

The list was, and remains, very long. Dr Bona Geri, an official at the Ministry of Social Affairs, says that nationwide, more than 170,000 are on the waiting list and about

134,000 have no flat at all. Many of these are young people, often married, who are still living with their parents. They have little chance of getting to the top of the list because the State has simply stopped building houses.

In Budapest, which has about 150,000 dwellings, equally divided between state and private stock, the waiting list is over 80,000. Yet this year, Mr Peter Szegvari, a member of the executive committee at the Budapest City Council, says the council has plans to build only 100 new flats. During the 1970s, the State was building around 150,000 flats a year throughout the country. This has dwindled considerably. Dr Geri says that in 1990, a total of 4,000 new flats will be built. This will hardly dent the housing waiting list.

To compound the problem, during the past decade the state was also selling off council housing. As a result, the existing state housing stock was rapidly reduced because of lack of funds and the housing list became even longer. The housing legacy bequeathed to the new Government is pathetic.

Every politician and social worker realises this, which is why the Government, led by the conservative Hungarian Democratic Forum, is trying to work out plans to reform the housing system. But there are problems - including, inevitably, finance.

Last December, Mr Miklos Nemeth, the reform-minded (Communist) Prime Minister courageously stood up in Parliament and suggested that mortgage relief be scrapped for home owners. He was under considerable pressure from the International Monetary Fund to reduce the high budget deficit, out of which Ft40bn is earmarked for housing subsidies.

Mr Nemeth stirred up a hornet's nest. At issue was the low interest rates. Ten years ago, anyone who bought land to build a house or flat could receive a 90 per cent loan at a fixed interest rate of 3 per cent (sometimes even at 1 per cent). Today, inflation is running at between 25-30 per cent. Mr Nemeth, in effect, suggested adjusting the interest rates. Needless to say, the plan was rejected.

Now, the Government, housing experts and the Budapest City Council are together trying to work out a coherent housing policy. The ideas, which so far remain on paper, include:

■ the council selling, at market prices, well-maintained flats which are located in "good" addresses. A two-roomed flat in Budapest costs around Ft2m

■ in second-rate flats in less fashionable areas, social housing stock would be improved and allocated to the less well-off. Those who earn Ft4,000 per month are in this category, even though the subsistence level was recently increased to Ft6,000 to reflect inflation

■ State subsidies, which amount to Ft40bn per year, would be reduced. In their place, rents would be increased - perhaps by as much as 80 per cent. Dr Geri says that wages would be increased and special provisions would be made for those in the very low income brackets and those on pensions. Hungarian economists admit they have no idea how this scheme could be implemented without causing further problems

■ the more controversial idea so far, which is unlikely to be accepted, is that those people living in large State flats that are too big for them, and who earn high salaries, should be persuaded to move to smaller flats which they could buy. Hungarians have already balked at this idea on the grounds that the State would have the right to decide which flats are suited for which people, and that the proposal amounts to eviction.

Mr Szegvari recognises the pitfalls in these proposals. "The problem is that low, fixed rents have inhibited any mobility. The existing housing stock should be reassessed in such a way that it would reflect its real market value. The Budapest city council wants to sell off flats but also buy some as well. There must be more flexibility. This will increase social mobility. We must build different categories of housing."

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Visitors will spend up to \$800m in Hungary this year, writes **Nicholas Denton**



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HUNGARY 7

Hungary is racing to detach itself from its east European neighbours in an attempt to avoid depression, writes Nicholas Denton

# Comecon collapse spurs export drive to the west

FOR 40 years, Hungary's economy was welded artificially to those of its east European neighbours. Now Hungary is in a race to detach itself before it is dragged down into economic depression by its neighbours.

The challenge is to shift trade back towards the West faster than Eastern markets collapse.

Hungary will pass two historic milestones this year. First, trade with EC countries, which accounted for 27 per cent of the total in 1989, will this year surge past trade with Comecon countries, which made up 41 per cent of all trade last year. Second, the new united Germany will overtake the USSR as Hungary's main trading partner.

However, Hungary's total exports declined by 5 per cent and imports fell by 9 per cent in the first half of 1990, compared with the same period in 1989. The export boom to the west is not strong enough to compensate for a catastrophic contraction of trade with Comecon conducted in roubles.

Hard-currency exports were 15 per cent higher in the first half compared to the same period last year, while imports fell by one per cent. But rouble-denominated exports (88 per cent of the total in 1989) plummeted by 30 per cent and imports by 20 per cent.

Poland's recession, Soviet economic chaos and, most recently, the cancellation of East German contracts since economic and monetary union with West Germany have all contributed to the decline.

The future worries Mr Bela Kadar, Minister for International Economic Relations. "What is happening to Eastern trade is worse than miserable. It is the worst shock since the oil shock and the next shock will come in four months."

From January, trade with the USSR and other Comecon countries will be calculated in dollars at world prices. Under the old system, Hungary paid for Soviet oil and raw materials with goods tailored to an undemanding Soviet market.

Oil will cost more and nobody knows how many Soviet customers will still buy Hungarian products when they have to pay in hard currency.

Mr Kadar expects Hungarian exports to Comecon countries to fall by another 20 per cent in 1991 and a further 5 per cent in 1992, meaning that they will have halved in less than three years. Because of Hungary's dependence on Soviet oil, the hard currency balance of payments could deteriorate by \$1bn-\$2bn, even without the recent oil price increase.

Carrying over Hungary's accumulated surplus of past years will cushion the pain, but it is not a long-term solution. The shortfall of Soviet oil supplies in the second half of the year will be about one-third, forcing Hungary to turn to an expensive world market. The cost to the hard currency balance of payments of is conservatively estimated at \$200m-\$250m for the whole year.

What is most galling is that the shock comes as Hungary's hard currency balance of payments had been showing a remarkable improvement.

The current account swung to a \$185m surplus in the first half of this year, an improvement of more than \$1.1bn on the same period last year and equivalent to an unprecedented 4 per cent of GDP.

A surplus for the year as a whole looks within grasp, despite increases in interest rates (which will boost the interest bill to \$1.5bn), Soviet oil supply cutbacks and price increases on the world oil market. Last year's deficit was \$1.4bn and the International Monetary Fund had set a \$400m deficit target.

Three main factors lie behind the improvement. Tight monetary and fiscal policies have restrained domestic demand and curbed hard currency imports despite growing import liberalisation.

Hungarian companies, faced with collapsing eastern markets, have turned to the west as a matter of survival. This "distress exporting" helped push the surplus up to \$550m in the first half, making a \$1bn full-year surplus plausible. Budapest's growing popularity as a holiday destination means that spending by western tourists is running at about double that recorded last year. The surplus on the tourism account is expected to be \$400m-\$500m for 1990. Prospects for exports to the west are good too, if western economies avoid recession. Export orders at the end of July were 30 per cent up on the year.

Another leading indicator is the burgeoning number of foreign trade companies. In 1970

there were 35, in the 1980s about 300; now there are more than 6000, of which more than 2000 have been set up in the last few months.

Furniture, clothing and leather manufacturing, pharmaceuticals and processed foods all have great potential, especially if Hungary gains greater access to EC markets under an asymmetric trade agreement, the negotiation of which begins this autumn.

In the longer term, vehicle production is promising, as multinationals set up in Hungary, complementing the domestic Ikarus bus manufacturer. Mr Kadar also pins his hopes on R&D-intensive sectors: "What is really cheap here is highly-qualified labour."

But next year remains daunting. This year the growth of the export boom to the west and the increase in tourist revenues helped neutralise the eastern collapse. In 1991, the same trick will be more difficult, thinks Mr Kadar.

However, he adds, "we have to reproduce it next year if we are to survive the eastern markets' deepening crisis. But most of the reserves of the Hungarian economy have been used up in the radical change of market. The easier part of the redeployment is behind us."

enues helped neutralise the eastern collapse. In 1991, the same trick will be more difficult, thinks Mr Kadar.



Minister of International Economic Relations Bela Kadar

## BROADCAST AND MEDIA

### Reformer fights off the politicians

THIS AUTUMN, Mr Elemer Hankiss should have been teaching at Stanford. Instead, this amusing, ebullient, 60-year-old sociologist who specialises, among other topics, in the origins of corruption, decided to take on the unenviable job of running Hungarian Television.

His studies on corruption may serve him well. Magyar Televizio (MTV), which is housed in the old Stock Exchange on Szabadsag Ter (Freedom Square) in the centre of the city, was a bastion of corruption, favouritism, and infighting right up to the day the Communists were voted out of power last April.

But why anybody would dare to try to revamp MTV, which is bound to play a crucial role in shaping Hungary's political, social and cultural transformation, is a question that Mr Hankiss pondered for

middle ranks of Hungarian Democratic Forum, the conservative party which heads the coalition, and the Alliance of Free Democrats, the largest of the opposition parties, each approached him. Both said they wanted one of the two channels to be expressly pro their own party.

"No way was I going to have this," said Mr Hankiss. "They may have this sort of system in Italy or even Holland. But I was not going to have it here. Besides, the cleavage (between the urban/Budapest-based and largely Jewish intellectuals, and the conservative populists/nationalists) in this country is bad enough. I was not going to use television to make it any wider."

Instead, Mr Hankiss - and he admits that the ideas are still on the drawing board - would like one of the channels to be modelled on BBC 1, and the second one to be inspired by ITV, the independent British commercial station. "My philosophy is this: Hungary needs a good television network of high quality and competition. These two channels would meet both needs."

He recognises that MTV would have to combine foreign and Hungarian capital and more significantly, that the expansion of satellite broadcasting will have an enormous impact in Hungary.

He reckons that anything between 500,000 and 1m households already have satellite television. "In which case, in about three years, it would be good if Hungarians had access to a Hungarian-language satellite."

That is not all this energetic sociologist has in mind. He wants to set up a weekly magazine, something along the lines of Britain's Listener or Spectator. Of course, revenue is needed for this. But mention the word "money" and Mr Hankiss replies: "Tenders."

"We can put these things out to tender. I have already put out the tender for the local government elections (which will take place on September 30). The team with the best ideas will win. I will do the same with the magazine. It is the only way to attract talent and competition," he says with a glint in his eye.

Indeed, while there is undoubtedly some talent in MTV, Mr Hankiss is full well that there is also a lot of dead wood - mediocre people who were chosen for their political loyalty. But despite pressure from the politicians to throw them out (and, no doubt, suggest "suitable replacements") Mr Hankiss is simply not interested in the idea.

"Sacking people is no solution to the problem. Of course there are many people here who were chosen for the politics. But there are talented people here too. I will not sack a single person under party pressure. My plan is to start new programmes. As I told you, we can attract talent through tender. The real talents of those here in MTV will be tested. Those who cannot compete will probably leave of their own will."

Liberal-minded politicians

Hankiss would like one channel modelled on BBC1, the other on ITV

welcome this move, while viewers are likely to welcome Mr Hankiss' other plans which are extremely imaginative. What he would really like to do is to broadcast, each night, ten minutes of BBC TV's World News with Hungarian subtitles. Then, once a month, for a whole day, he would like to replace one of the Hungarian channels with NBC, CNN, ABC, or BBC. "I want to open up Hungarian culture. I want open television." Such a statement could well stick in the throats of the nationalist-minded, who believe that Hungarians cannot get enough of their own culture.

Mr Hankiss has no illusions that this will all cost money. Advertising will pay for some of it. Perhaps a rise in the television licence, which costs 130 forints (\$2.10) per month, would help meet further costs. At the moment, MTV is in the red. With Mr Hankiss at the helm, it is not likely to remain so for much longer.

Judy Dempsey

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## HUNGARY 8

PROFILE: Prime Minister Jozsef Antall

## Premier's didactic style

IT IS not easy living in the shadow of a Havel or Walesa. Westerners do not laud the towering moral authority of Mr Jozsef Antall, the Hungarian Prime Minister, nor do they invite him to address joint sessions of Congress or reissue his books. Most of them probably do not even know who he is.

Mr Antall is aware of the cost. In Poland and Czechoslovakia there are two names which simplify identification in the world, that is a political advantage. But he points out the difficulty with which Polish politics is accommodating Mr Lach Walesa's overbearing personality and doubts whether President Vaclav Havel's reputation alone will solve Czechoslovakia's problems.

Hungary's politics, he believes, are more normal, more western. It is not that Mr



## PERSONAL FILE

**1930:** Born in Budapest, educated at Piarist Gymnasium and the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest

**1956:** Involved in the revolutionary committee of the secondary school where he taught history. After 1956, banned from teaching

**1956-89:** Administrator at Semmelweis Museum of Medicine, Budapest. Later appointed director

**1974:** Allowed to travel to West for first time

**1989:** October, elected President of the Hungarian Democratic Forum

**1990:** April, chosen as Prime Minister

**Former colleagues describe Mr Antall as being aloof and autocratic**

Antall cannot match his neighbours in glamour, but that he is not inclined to.

His public is not the western public but western Governments.

"I don't think that in the present ex-communist countries there are heads of Government with better contacts with the west in general or in whom there is greater confidence."

He disdains "tricks for popularity." Advisers press Mr Antall to meet the people in shirt-sleeves or abandon his tie just once, but his natural reserve prevails. "Why should I go without a tie when I find it more comfortable with one? These tricks can be used for a short time but in the long run a politician is judged by his performance."

A reputation for solidity is more highly prized than "a noisy, emotional image for the purposes of publicity. Seventy per cent of that is a question of technique."

It is another question whether Mr Antall has the remaining 30 per cent that could add up to charisma. The didactic style of the teacher Mr

ing or towards a window. His fingers rest a trifle pompously against his face in a statesman-like pose. For a man not concerned about his image, Mr Antall is very concerned, and sensitivity to media coverage verges on the obsessive.

A public holiday last month is cited: "Thousands of people shouted long live the Government and even my name was mentioned there, and people saying 'thank you for everything'. And these things were somehow forgotten and not shown by the mass media."

He blames the "left-radical" Budapest press which also infects the foreign press with its atmosphere. Once Mr Antall gave 70 interviews over a weekend to the foreign press. 62, he says significantly, asked the same questions. For someone unconcerned with his place in history, Mr Antall makes modest comparisons with past figures.

As befits the historian he once was, Mr Antall ranges freely across the centuries in search of models: Saint Steven (the first king of Hungary) for the mission to attach Hungary to the west, Gladstone for tight-buttoned liberalism, Churchill for determination, Adenauer for normalisation, Kennedy for renewal.

"I don't consider it an insult that I am called Gladstonian, nor do I feel old-fashioned if I am called that. I can find similarity and politically very near to me, the situation that had to be tackled by Adenauer in West Germany: political and moral crisis caused by Hitlerism, to turn the Germans into a democratic nation. To me personally, Churchill and Kennedy are the people who are particularly close to me: the stubbornness and determination of Churchill," he says.

"I know the Hungarian people and character just as Churchill did the English."

Mr Antall's judgement of the Hungarian character is revealing. He cannot or will not offer the Hungarian people blood, sweat and tears to reconcile them to the economic trauma they are undergoing. "As a matter of fact this is what I should say, but the psychological character of the Hungarians is different from the English," he says. "Of course one should not forget that the

Hungarians are prone to pessimism. Our poetry, this national death theme, also shows that there is an inclination of Hungarians for depression. And we also know that the rate of suicide has been very high for centuries. Many Hungarians throw life away out of bitterness. To promise blood, sweat and tears is not going to give strength to the Hungarians as it did to the British."

"I have emphasised that hard times are coming and we have to get ready for that, but there is a way out of the situation and we have to say what the way out is. But I am not going to disclose the full recipe," he says enigmatically. "Antall knows nothing about economics," says Mr Marton Tardos, the economic adviser to the opposition Alliance of

**'Hard times are coming and we have to get ready for that'**

Free Democrats. That is not quite true. The Prime Minister seems to have adopted a few maxims: the foreign debt should be paid, the budget should be balanced, the International Monetary Fund should be kept happy. But on the intricate questions of privatisation and the macroeconomic stabilisation of the economy, he hovers uncertainly above his squabbling ministers.

There is some truth in Mr Antall's claim that he has a feel for Hungarian public opinion. His long television interviews act as a sedative for a tense society. Moreover, he has a feel for politics. Any claim for a unique historical role will come from this: that Mr Antall is one of the few natural politicians in Hungary's new establishment. Even his enemies concede this fact. An instinct for compromise, for when to say nothing at length, for when to let a crisis blow over, for wise appointments and, most of all, for power make Mr Antall difficult to replace.

Nicholas Denton

WHEN Hungary's Smallholders Party reconstituted itself last year in preparation for the country's first free elections in more than four decades, it based its election campaign on just one platform: land which was confiscated by the Communists after 1947 should be given back to its original owners.

On paper, the idea was appealing to the pre-war generation who formed the new leadership of the Smallholders, one of the largest political parties between the two world wars.

In practice, it was one of the first issues which plagued the new Government.

Before the elections, the Smallholders' leadership was vague on how the land would be redistributed, particularly since land records had been lost or destroyed following the Communist take-over in 1947. Besides, there was little money in the coffers to assist peasants to buy land, or buy themselves out of the co-operatives which, over the past thirty years had become the mainstay of Hungarian agriculture.

Nonetheless, the Smallholders, partly because of their sharp anti-communist stance during the elections, and their nostalgic links to pre-communist Hungary, did well enough to be invited to join a coalition with the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the large, conservative party which today heads the Government.

One of the first tasks facing the Forum, therefore, was the land question.

Land, and more importantly, the agricultural lobby, has always held a prominent place in post-war Hungarian politics. The late Mr Janos Kadar, who headed the ruling Hungarian Communist Party from 1956 to 1988, was careful not to alienate this vital sector of society. Indeed, when under pressure in the early 1980s to appease the heavy industry lobby, he attempted to curb the political clout of the agricultural lobby by reducing prices and subsidies. The farmers promptly responded. Those with small plots and those on the co-operatives stopped supplying the towns and cities with food. Mr Kadar quickly learned his lesson. A hungry population spells disaster for any leadership.

The Hungarian Democratic Forum will not fall into the same trap because the political conditions have radically changed. Moreover, in recent weeks, Mr Jozsef Antall, the Prime Minister, has been attempting to persuade the



Central Market, Budapest: agriculture accounts for 16% of GDP

## AGRICULTURE

## Smallholders and reforms

Smallholders that to return land to its original owners would cause social disruption and would cost a great deal. Instead, the Forum is suggesting a gradual, cautious pro-

Laszlo Sarossy, the State Secretary for Agriculture, has no qualms in saying that one-third of the workforce is "underemployed."

"You could say that of the

**'This Government carries the burden of 40 years of Communist rule. . . we must take a step-by-step approach'**

programme aimed at the privatisation of land. Their caution is tempered by the importance of agriculture to the economy.

More than 20 per cent of the Hungarian labour force work on the land, which is very high by western standards. But Mr

1,300 co-operatives in Hungary, about 600 are social institutes. They are not performing well. This was pointed out in the mid-1980s in a report drawn up by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. It concluded that in the State

farms, milk yields, for instance, were way below expected levels. It suggested that some of the co-operatives be privatised. Naturally, the report was not published in Hungary at the time," he says.

Yet despite this criticism, Hungarian agriculture continues to account for 16 per cent of the equivalent of GDP, 23 per cent of total exports and 30 per cent of hard currency earnings. Over the past few years, gross income from agriculture totalled \$1.6bn and net income, \$1bn.

The squeeze on the budget, however, forced down incomes as well as subsidies. The Government over the past few years had already reduced subsidies by 25-30 per cent.

Mr Sarossy recognises that agriculture could be made more efficient, and not by dismantling the co-operatives overnight. He would reduce the number of large State farms but retain some which would be earmarked for research. Furthermore, the Government's agrarian policy would include private ownership, but based on the following principles:

■ former agricultural land owners who are still living will be eligible to receive up to 135 hectares of land and, where possible, land which they had farmed before 1947;

■ descendants of dead landowners will be allowed to share a maximum of 100 hectares, on condition that they keep the land under agricultural use;

■ agricultural workers, who have worked on co-operatives will be eligible to obtain up to 1.5 hectares per person. Mr Istvan Borocz, deputy leader of the Smallholders, says they would obtain easy credit to pay for this land;

■ co-operatives would be allowed to retain any land which is left over;

■ forests, with few exceptions, would not be returned to their former owners. Instead, they would receive agricultural land twice the value of their former possession;

■ foreigners will not be permitted to buy either agricultural or foreign land.

"We want equal chances for everybody," says Mr Sarossy. "As for foreigners, we do not want Hungary to be completely sold out to them. We are not against foreign capital. We encourage capital investment. The point is that this Government carries the burden of forty years of Communist rule. That is why we must take a step-by-step approach."

Judy Dempsey

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# FINANCIAL TIMES SURVEY

## WALES

■ New attractions for high technology and research companies. See Page 4

■ Hope stirs in the valleys: unemployment has come down. See Page 5

### SECTION IV

Monday, September 17, 1990



Wales is seeking to attract new areas of business and industry, ranging from skilled

engineering to financial services, in the place of traditional heavy industries, says Anthony Moreton

## A stronger economy emerges

THREE MONTHS ago, Lord King, chairman of British Airways, announced in Cardiff that the airline was to spend £70m on a new maintenance base at the city's airport for its fleet of 747 Jumbo jets. In the presence of Mr David Hunt, Secretary of State for Wales, he revealed the project would lead to the creation of 1,200 jobs. To say the announcement was widely welcomed would be an understatement.

Only weeks before Wales had been hit by two major closures. British Coal had announced it would close its loss-making Blaenau pit above Swansea with the loss of 577 jobs. The move reduced the number of pits in south Wales to five where once there had been hundreds. And at Wrexham in north Wales, United Engineering Steels announced the shutdown of its steel plant at Brymbo with the loss of 1,125 jobs.

It is a measure of the new confidence to be found in Wales that the closures were greeted with little more than ritualistic concern. Not so many years ago, there would have been threats of sit-ins and demonstrations and questions would have been asked in the House of Commons.

A new maturity has emerged in which Wales is looking to attract skilled engineering jobs and new sectors such as finance in place of traditional heavy industry. No longer is Wales about steel and coal and metal forming; no longer is it a country of low-paid jobs with a flat-cap sub-culture.

A new economy is emerging, based on the industries of today, semi-conductors and financial services to the fore. Representatives of the old industry remain but they, like British Steel, have gained in efficiency - "Wales used to be known as the land of coal, steel and subsidiaries," says Mr Stuart Lindsay, partner in the Cardiff office of accountants Touche Ross. "Not any more."

Mr David Waterstone, soon to move back into private industry after seven years as chief executive of the Welsh Development Agency, adds that there has been a transformation in the economy - "the trouble is that many people outside Wales are not aware of that change. We need to change perceptions."

New names have arrived. West Germany's Bosch has chosen Cardiff for its UK plant to manufacture alternators. Toyota chose Daele in north



Cardiff's City Hall dominates this view of the central and northern areas of the city. The Law Courts are on the left and the National Museum of Wales is seen on the right. In the foreground is the Boulevard de Nantes, named after one of Cardiff's twin cities.

Wales for its engine plant to supply the car assembly works in Derbyshire. A Tesco headquarters unit is in Cardiff and Lloyds Bank handles all its in-house mortgage work in Swansea rather than London. In the next few weeks a West German company will announce it is opening in Swansea specifically to supply Bosch in Cardiff.

"When I came here," says Mr Waterstone, "I had all the prejudices of an ignorant non-Welshman. In my mind's eye the valleys were all of Wales

and the valleys were full of short, dark men standing between the black spoil heaps, singing bravely in spite of the drizzle."

"It was a caricature. Even so, in those seven years there has been an enormous change. A great deal remains to be done but Wales now seems to have the means for dealing with its problems because the spirit of determination and risk-taking that drove the industrial expansion of the last century seems to have returned.

"The cause has not been the arrival of any foreign group, important though they are. The engine of recovery lies in the resurgence and diversification of the small and medium business sector."

The new Wales is represented by the growth of entrepreneurship and the arrival of major international names. A decade ago Wales was at the bottom of the UK self-employment table; it is now top on a per-head-of-population basis.

In the past decade the number of the self-employed has

risen by 35,000, around a third, to 150,000.

"The Welsh economy has experienced tremendous changes in the past decade," says Mr Philip Cooke, of University College, Cardiff. "The growth rate of new firms in Wales has been outpacing that elsewhere in Britain and the business survival rate between 1980 and 1986 was much higher."

Cambridge Econometrics has forecast that Wales will continue to increase its rate of employment faster than that

for the UK as a whole, based on the premise that the Welsh economy will grow faster than that of the UK.

It is the level of inward investment that is helping to sustain this growth. Mr Terry Hoggett, chairman of the international architectural firm Hoggett Lock-Nerrews, says that only Leeds and Newcastle can now match Cardiff in their ability to attract investor interest.

His own company is involved in schemes totalling more than

### IN THIS SURVEY

■ Inward investment: Wales has scooped a disproportionately high share of inward investment into Britain. New manufacturing and service facilities have grown up. PAGE 2

■ Urban regeneration: a controversial plan for Cardiff Bay. ■ The role of the Welsh Development Agency: the legacy of David Waterstone, former chief executive of the WDA. PAGE 3

■ The high technology scene: companies make their mark. ■ Financial services sector: an influx of well-known names. PAGE 4

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Mr David Hunt, Secretary of State for Wales

■ Tourism industry: more high-quality facilities planned, from golf courses to country-house hotels. ■ Swansea Bay Partnership. PAGE 6

■ The Development Board for Rural Wales: diverse and imaginative projects range from helping to restock Cardigan Bay with lobsters; in helping organic farms; a pilot project for camellias; and encouraging the 700 fairs and festivals in Mid-Wales. PAGE 7

■ Focus on North Wales PAGE 8

### RATE OF GROWTH IN NEW COMPANIES REGISTERED

WALES 34%  
U.K. 0.01%

1985-1989 (full years)  
Source: Jenkins

### BUSINESS SURVIVAL RATE

WALES 56%  
U.K. 52%

1980-1989

### PERCENTAGE OF WORKFORCE SELF EMPLOYED

WALES 14.6%  
U.K. 11.5%

Source: Regional Trends

### INDEX OF MANUFACTURING OUTPUT

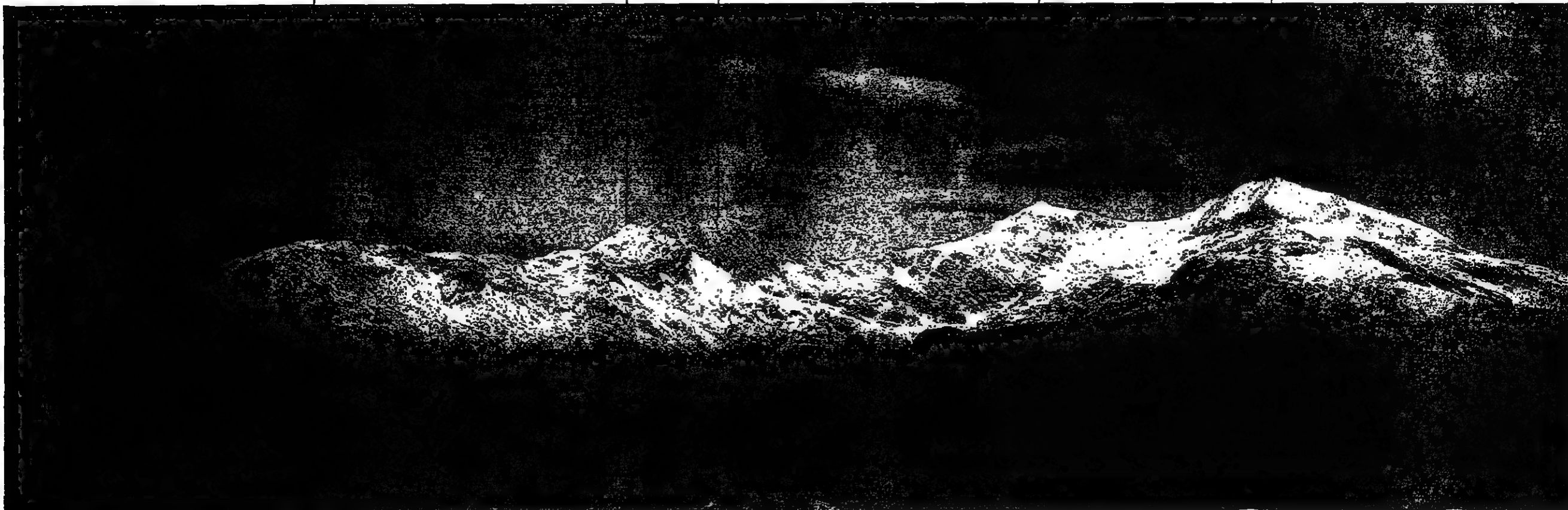
WALES 133.0  
U.K. 120.2

1985-1989 (1985 = 100)  
Source: Welsh Office

### GROWTH IN NET MANUFACTURING OUTPUT PER EMPLOYEE

WALES 32%  
U.K. 32%

1981-1987  
Source: Smith & Nisbet 14-1987



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This is no accident. The WDA strategy has deliberately focused within Wales on creating the essential elements for a healthy industrial and commercial economy - self-generated growth, spawned by new enterprises and new investment.

And to add to indigenous investment, Wales has not been without success in attracting inward investment - in fact about 20% of the UK total - from hi-tech, blue chip companies, like Ford, Bosch and Sony.

And it is new investment that stimulates rising manufacturing output in Wales. Whilst just as critical to profitability and prosperity, are the new highs in productivity.

Which in turn is evidence of another vital ingredient, the quality of the work force in Wales.

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## WALES 2

## INWARD INVESTMENT

## Encouraging trends

WHEN TOYOTA last year decided to build its £140m engine plant at Deeside in North Wales, the decision was considered in the principality as almost a consolation prize.

Wales had hoped to be chosen as the site for the company's car assembly works and there was great disappointment when the Japanese multi-million pound investment went to Derbyshire.

For almost any other part of the UK the arrival of the engine plant would have been sufficient in itself and it is perhaps a measure of the success that Wales has had in winning inward investment, especially from abroad, that the engine plant should have been widely seen as a second-best option.

This site will initially turn out 100,000 engines a year from a workforce of 200, both figures certain to be expanded eventually.

Toyota is, in fact, only one of a number of very big names that have arrived in the Principality. Three months ago, British Airways chose Cardiff-Wales airport for the site of a £75m engine maintenance plant for its fleet of Boeing 747 Jumbo jets.

This plant will employ 1,250 people, most of them with high technological skills, who will contribute enormously to the infrastructure of south-east Wales.

Earlier, Bosch had announced it was to make alternators outside Cardiff. That plant is approaching completion and the West German company expects to have over 600 workers in the factory by the end of the year.

Tesco relocated a headquarters unit to Cardiff and Lloyds Bank transferred some of its London HQ activities to Swansea; another company to choose Swansea was Alberto Culver, the hair products group; Kimberly Clark, Alcoa and Matsushita are among companies that have decided to locate or expand in Wales.

Others such as TSB general insurance and Blisley Office Equipment, both in Newport, and National Provident Institution, in Cardiff, are among a long list of arrivals.

As Mr David Hunt, Secretary of State for Wales, Dr Jones and almost everyone else tells



Dr Gwyn Jones, chairman of the Welsh Development Agency.

you at the first opportunity, Wales has won 20 per cent of all manufacturing investment arriving in the UK in the past half-a-dozen years.

Some 35 companies, like Orion, National Panasonic, Brother, Sharp, have come from Japan.

Far more - 140 - are from North America, representing a cross-section of the top names there. These companies represent over half the companies that have come to Wales from abroad.

Nor will these be the last, forecasts Mr Mike Price, director of Welsh Development International (WDI), the inward investment arm of the Welsh Development Agency.

"There is a steady flow of inquiries from companies about locating in Wales and those will certainly be translated into decisions to open here," he says.

What particularly pleases Dr Gwyn Jones, the agency's chairman, is that many of the inquiries subsequently expand on their new sites.

Last year, nearly 40 per cent of all projects in Wales were for expansions by existing concerns, he says - "while the original investment may have been in a familiar, safe technology, successive expansions are often of a more exciting nature, in areas which are new to the company and demonstrate their confidence in their

workforce and infrastructure support in Wales."

The results can be seen in the figures, Mr Price adds. Since the WDA was set up in 1976 Wales has attracted over 430 companies from overseas involving a capital investment of some £1.7bn.

More recently since Winvest - precursor of WDI - was established in 1983, inward investment has led to the creation of 44,000 jobs. "And at a conservative estimate, at least one job has been created in a spin-off sector for every one that has arrived through direct investment," he says.

"The significance of these companies is that it gives Wales a substantial base in growing and developing sectors," Mr Price adds.

"The British Airways decision arose because the company was happy with its present plant, knew the workforce, and knew the quality of its suppliers and communications between them."

It also arose because the local authorities in Wales have moved aside obstacles to the creation of a more highly-skilled workforce.

To assist BA, South Glamorgan County Council is to set up a department of aircraft technology in one of its colleges of further education and Mid-Glamorgan is to establish an aero-engine department.

This willingness to bend to the needs of incoming has been reflected in North Wales, too, where strong emphasis has been placed on medical technology at Wrexham by Clwyd County Council.

To ensure that the flow of inquiries and visits by companies is turned into investment decisions the WDA's Dr Jones decided last year to give Welsh Development International new impetus by providing it with a separate board of non-executive directors drawn from the top level of British industry - men like Sir John Harvey-Jones, ICI's former chairman, and Shell's Mr Desmond Watkins.

Greater focus is also being placed on south-east Asia and North America, where a chief executive, based in Baltimore, has been appointed to oversee offices in New York, Chicago, Atlanta and Ottawa. A fifth office on the West Coast is also

in the pipeline.

An office in Tokyo is about to be supplemented by representation in a number of other centres.

Mr Colin Adlam, former director of Winvest, has been in Taipei, Taiwan, for some months investigating the possibilities of stronger representation there.

An office in Seoul, South Korea, was opened 12 months ago and officials in Cardiff are pleased with the amount of interest in Wales it quickly developed.

An experimental office in Hong Kong has been less successful and there are doubts whether it will be continued after the end of this month.

Following the lead given by Mr Peter Walker, the former Welsh Secretary, in developing contacts with the rich German Baden-Württemberg region, WDI is opening an office in Stuttgart as its first in continental Europe.

The need for such an office is all the more important as the two Germanies unite.

A foothold in prosperous Stuttgart should give Wales access to the new markets that open after the end of the economic and political division between the two Europes.

Other links are being forged with Lombardy in Italy, Catalonia in Spain and Rhone-Alpes in France.

Wales has been good for TSB, Mr Bruce McDowell, general manager of its general insurance arm which relocated to Newport two years ago, says.

"Our high hopes for high-quality staff have been amply fulfilled."

"The development of business parks has made offices available, the quality of life is perceived to be higher than that of south-east England and there is a large, untapped market of workers."

Wales is a good place to be, he claims.

"The links Wales is making within Europe," says the WDA's Dr Jones, "recognise the strengths and opportunities which exist in the principality. The rest of Europe is keen to be part of the new Welsh prosperity within a broader European context."

Anthony Moreton

## Property development and house-building

## Margins remain good

PROPERTY DEVELOPERS and house-builders, in particular, are having a hard time of it at the moment. A cursory glance, for example, at the Bailey Group's most recent profits figures suggest that this company, which is a major player in house-building, in south Wales, seems no exception.

Turnover for both companies, Bailey Holdings and Bailey Investments, rose to £23m from £20m, but pre-tax profits dropped slightly to £1.3m from £1.5m.

However, given that the group funds its land purchases and other costs by borrowings, the company sees the year 1989-90 as having been a satisfactory one. Like the north of England, but unlike the south-east, house sales in south Wales are holding comparatively well. The group's higher

turnover was eaten into by high interest rates and head office costs.

The spending on head office costs, particularly sales, the unusual nature of the south Wales housing and office market should mean that the Bailey group will weather the adverse climate well in 1990-91 without the likelihood of a serious erosion of profits.

Bailey Homes was established in 1979 by Mr Paul Bailey. Before this, Mr Bailey had spent over 10 years dealing in inner city refurbishment property.

Apart from renovating many properties, he had acquired over 50 residential homes included tenanted houses let on a rental basis. Between 1979 and 1983 the company expanded rapidly. It was primarily involved in building starter

homes, many of them were sold to housing associations. Inadequate financial controls and over-building resulted in 1983-84 in a pre-tax loss of £278,000 on sales of £1.4m.

Arthur Andersen and Company was called in to prepare a background report for the company's bankers. Mr Paul Bailey, who was then a manager with Andersen's, prepared the report. He subsequently joined Paul Bailey in June 1983 as the finance director, before becoming the managing director in 1986.

Between 1983-87 the company restructured and consolidated. Bailey Holdings was formed as an investment company with three subsidiary companies to improve financial control. These three were Bailey Homes, Bailey Developments and Bailey Properties.

This structure remained in place until March 1989 when it was decided to split the trading and investment activities into two new groups.

Bailey Holdings is now entirely separate from the investment interests and has two 100 per cent owned subsidiaries, Bailey Homes (House-building) and Bailey Developments PLC (Commercial Property Development). Shareholdings of all parent companies are 70 per cent P E Bailey and 30 per cent P M Guy.

During the 1980s, the company tightened up financial controls, recruited top calibre management, and tried to broaden the group's activities in property development. The improve cash flow it built houses for housing associations on a design-and-build basis. It broadened its house-building into all ranges and expanded into industrial office and retail.

The group estimates that in 1989 there were about 5,250 housing completions in south Wales. None of the big national companies completed more than about 10 per cent of this total each.

Bailey Homes built 193 homes and sold 238 in the year to April 1990. These were what might be called speculatively built houses or not pre-sold houses. It also built some hundreds of design and build houses.

The 238 ranged from £45,000 starter homes to four to five bedroom detached houses for £250,000. Stella Alford, the development director of Bailey Homes, says that demand at the top range was surprisingly strong. It came from new managers involved in management buy-outs, or starting out in business for themselves.

Ms Alford was looking to build 400 houses in the current year, admits that selling this number might be slightly optimistic given the high level of interest rates. Nevertheless, she says demand is holding up and the medium term outlook is good.

There are a number of reasons for this. The existing housing stock is poor, particularly in the Valleys, and can do with upgrading.

Second, a larger proportion of people in south Wales own their existing homes than elsewhere.

Third, because housing has been cheap or depressed in the past if people do not own their own homes they often have low mortgages and are in a position to expand.

Stella Alford says because of the current economic climate everything is much harder to sell than was the case 18 months ago. But prices have not been squeezed, things have not reached a stand-still and the company has not started going in for joint equity sales like some of the big national house-builders.

Moreover, margins are good because land is cheap. The top price for an acre of land with planning permission for residential use is about £200,000. This compares with a £1m for an acre with permission to build around 10 houses virtually anywhere in the south-east, at least until a year ago.

Land, because it is degraded and qualified for government aid or because a local authority is anxious that houses be

## Focus on the Bailey Group by STEWART DALBY

built, can often be much cheaper than £200,000. In one instance the company paid some £5,000 an acre, but it did have to spend money in other ways to close the deal. An insistence on putting in roads or improving the infrastructure is often a condition of building with local authorities. It is what they call planning gain.

Ms Alford reckons the company builds houses on a gross profit margin of between 18 to 26 per cent. This comes down to a net margin of 11 per cent.

At the St Mellon's Industrial Park, two minutes drive from Cardiff, where the company has its headquarters, a fourth office/industrial block is currently in the process of being funded. Other developments are also on hold. Lettings and sales on completed developments are much harder work than 18 months ago.

However, Mr Saunders says he will be disappointed if profits do not move up to £1.5m in the current year and are on target to reach this figure.

The company seems in no danger of repeating its experience of the early 1980s because it is not over-reaching itself at a hard time. Longer-term, while the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation set to develop in an area of 2,700 acres around the bay, the outlook is very rosy.



## KEY FACTS AND ECONOMIC INDICATORS\*

	Wales	UK
Area (sq km)	20,786	242,407
Population (thousands, 1988)	2,587	57,066
Population density (persons per sq km)	124.7	233.4
Population growth (1981-88)	1.9%	1.9%
Age structure (1988)		
below 16 years	20.3%	20.2%
above pension age	18.4%	18.2%
Average household size (1987)	2.64	2.58
GDP (1988, £m)	18,311	394,787
GDP per head (£)	5,709	6,916
GDP per head index	82.5	100
Economic activity rate (1988)		
men	69.0%	74.3%
women	44.6%	50.8%
Structure of labour force (1988)		
Employed in employment	75.6%	80.7%
Self-employed	14.6%	11.5%
Unemployed	7.2%	6.9%
Govt training schemes	2.4%	1.8%
Employees in employment (by standard industrial classification group and sex, 1988, %)		
men		
Agriculture and energy	8.2	5.0
Manufacturing	32.7	30.3
Construction	7.8	7.8
Distribution and transport	21.7	28.0
Other services	29.8	30.9
women		
Agriculture and energy	1.6	1.6
Manufacturing	15.9	15.0
Construction	1.0	1.2
Distribution and transport	25.6	28.5
Other services	55.7	55.7
Earnings (average gross full-time, 1989)		
men	£238.80pw	£268.70pw
women	£168.00pw	£191.50pw
Education (1988)		
4-year-olds in education	89%	73%
Pupils aged 16 staying in education	50%	62%
Pupil/teacher ratio primary	22.3	21.9
Secondary	16.4	15.0
GPs per 1,000 of the population (1988)	0.68	0.55
Housing by tenure (1989)		
Owner-occupied	69%	65%
Rented from local authority or new tenant	21%	25%
Rented from private sector	7%	6%
Rented from housing associations	2%	2%
Index of dwelling prices (1985, 1985=100)	142	167
Building society borrowers		
Average dwelling price, (1988)	£34,200	£48,400
Cars per 1,000 population (1987)	307	324

\*Percentage of population aged 16 or over in labour force Source: CSO Regional Trends

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**MOST URBAN** development corporations in Britain are contentious for or reason or another.

London Docklands has been criticised for owing too much speculation house and office building without the proper infrastructure. The Merseyside UDC has been knocked for its policy emphasising tourism and leisure; a strategy which after a decade has not generated as much private investment as desired.

Arguably, most controversial UDCs, however, is the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation. This not because, with a projected 2,700 acres within its remit, it is the largest urban regeneration project in Britain since London and is one of the largest waterfront schemes in Europe. Nor is it because it is funded - at a tentative cost of £350m - through a Welsh Office. It is because its masterplan involves siltation across Cardiff Bay, creating a non-tidal lake of 5 acres. This would give Cardiff some eight miles of waterfront.

This has upset people locally

Wish Development Agency

## Waterstone's legacy

MR David Waterstone left the Welsh Development Agency last month after six and a half years as its chief executive. There were momentous years in the Welsh development of Wales.

Scars of the steel industry, and the closure of steel mines - which continued throughout the 1980s - left Wales demoralised. The agency's main task was to create jobs, no matter what the cost.

We were just shooting everything that moved, claims Mr Waterstone. The agency succeeded. Unemployment in Wales is still falling - elsewhere it is rising again.

Recent statistics from the Welsh Office show that manufacturing output has grown faster in recent years than in other regions, and construction was also outpacing the national statistics last year. Growth in services has been particularly marked.

The agency could not be the sole mover. But its role - enhanced by the high profile that went with Mr Peter Walker's period as Welsh Secretary, and its powers of co-ordination in promoting Wales - has been considerable in the last few years. For a long time, the Scottish Development Agency was seen as the best. SDA executives in turn admit that they had learned a lot from the professional approach of the Industrial Development Authority of Ireland.

**Welsh unemployment is still falling - in the UK it is rising again**

Gradually, the WDA found its own way. Its profile in international circles rose. It critics, however, believe that quality was sacrificed for quantity in terms of jobs.

Mr Waterstone says: "We Scots were very targeted in, and I thought very carefully whether we should do the same thing. But the Welsh economy was less developed than Scotland. We were building a basic structure. We had change direction quite significantly after a time. We have become quite picky about what we do."

The agency today concentrates on securing high-paid jobs for Wales than it could afford to do in the early 1980s. The tie-up between the Welsh Office, London, with new science park in Newry is very much part of the new, high quality approach. "We raise the finance, they provide the brains."

Mr Waterstone does wonder whether the agency should have changed far more quickly than it did. He wants to add that the cour of jobs, jobs, was not genuine. "I by any political interference. I would doff my hat to the secretaries of state," he says. He admits that he was surprised that there was not more political guidance. From the beginning he was "more less" left to get on with it.

Politicians like publicise investment by foreign companies as an indicator of success. Wales is no exception. Japanese investment, particularly, has been lauded. But Mr Waterstone points out that the US, Germany and France are all bigger investors in Wales than the Japanese.

Foreign-owned companies are important, but they employ less than 7 per cent of the Welsh workforce. "The real thing has been to get Welsh business going. He is pleased that Wales is near the top of the league for business start-ups; a year ago, it was bottom.

Financial jobs have been brought in, most with companies who have moved their main centres out of more congested parts of the country. The M4, therefore the rela-



David Waterstone, job-finder

the closeness of south-east Wales to London and the south-east, is "our own good fortune."

But geography is only a part of the story. Mr Waterstone says the Welsh have the "Celtic work ethic." He praises the industrial relations record - "superb" - and the co-operation of the Welsh TUC. The message got around by word of mouth, perhaps the best advertisement of all.

There was also the WDA's public relations budget, which averages about £750,000 annually. Mr Waterstone decided, early on, that the perception of Wales - battered, without morale - had to be changed.

His recommendation to other development bodies, however, is that advertising alone is not enough. "And you have to tell the truth. We worked at creating stories of success, selling them, having TV programmes made about them. We had to change the perception of Wales, internally and externally."

The WDA has fingers in many pies. Its property portfolio is the largest in Wales. It is one of the biggest industrial property developers in Britain. So far - unlike the SDA and English Estates - it has not been told by the Government to sell off the property. In fact,

**"I would doff my hat to the secretaries of state"**

It is continuing to build in parts of Wales.

Not all its ventures have been successful. In particular, certain high risk investments in companies in exchange for equity led to some embarrassing losses. "As venture capitalists, we deliberately went into areas which the private sector would not back," says Mr Waterstone. The venture capital interests, taken as a whole, are now just about breaking even.

Wales still has some way to go to catch up with the rest of the country in certain respects. Gross Domestic Product per head is well down the league, disposable income likewise. There is still a lot to do to bring parts of Wales up to the standards enjoyed in the more prosperous parts of Wales.

The WDA, its budget successfully defended before the Treasury by Mr Walker, has had a charmed life. Mr Waterstone, a former Foreign Office and British Steel executive, and not a Welshman, gave it the managerial and promotional skills that are even more important than the funds.

The big question following his departure, and that of Mr Walker, is the shape of the future. As Welsh prosperity increases, and the SDA has been broken up, it is a fair bet that the Welsh Development Agency will not be left to carry on in the same way.

Hazel Duffy

## URBAN REGENERATION

# Controversial plan for Cardiff Bay

and nationally for a number of reasons. Cardiff Bay has a very high tidal drop - some 40 feet. At low tide the bay has extensive mudflats which are the home of wading birds. Environmentalists have called for the protection of the area and it has been designated a site of special scientific interest.

A second objection has centred on water quality. Algae and other problems could develop and possibly cause pollution. Third, there have been fears of flooding. Much of Cardiff is low-lying and there has been flooding in the past. Fourth, there are worries about the ground water table. An artificial lake could affect

this, it seems, causing dampness and water to occur in basement dwellings.

After exhaustive research the Development Corporation has managed to allay fears on most counts. There are lots of similar habitats for the wildlife close to Cardiff, so the wading birds will not suffer. As for the quality of the water, this is a technical matter which can be managed.

On the question of flooding, a barrage across the bay could help control the water level. The flooding would be no worse with the barrage, the CBDC feels. This leaves the problem of the ground water table. A parliamentary select committee earlier this year reported that the private bill necessary for the project should be passed by parliament but it called for further research into environmental impacts.

Mr Geoffrey Inkin, chairman of the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation, says the ground water table is a "substantive issue", but feels that the problems can be resolved. He says this has delayed the bill, but he is confident it will

go through. It will then remain for the Secretary of State, currently Mr David Hunt, to say whether there will be public funds to build the barrage. It is estimated it will cost £120m.

It is a common misconception that the regeneration will not take place without the barrage. But this is not the case. Cardiff was one of the great coal and steel exporting ports. There is still a working dock run by Associated British Ports, but it is on a much reduced scale. Vast stretches around the bay are derelict and semi-derelict, as well as degraded.

Part of the rationale for UDCs is that old dock areas such as Cardiff require public funds to get the land and infrastructure up to par for development. Private developers rarely have the wherewithal or interest in doing the reclamation work.

Since it was set up in 1967, the CBDC has been buying up land. It reckons that 1,000 acres is developable within the 10 years during which its writ is supposed to run. A UDC has vesting rights or compulsory purchase rights. These are



Against a background of dockyard cranes, yachts ride at anchor in Cardiff Bay

Glyn Gwyn

rarely used. It can buy land, however, at current use costs. So far the CBDC has acquired 600 acres, some of it very cheaply. The idea is that eventually it will be sold on to developers, improved, but at enhanced cost.

In this way the Government can recoup some of its outlay. Mr Inkin reckons land sales certainly would bring in £75m to £100m, although others believe the figure would be much higher.

In addition, the CBDC has signed a development agreement with ABP for this company to develop 180 acres it owns within the CBDC area.

The port itself is outside the area. The Corporation is contributing £25m to the cost of building an underground section of a link road going through the area.

Some houses and old buildings have been refurbished in the Tiger Bay dock area. Houses have been built in the Penarth marina. At Atlantic Wharf, one old warehouse has been turned into the Celtic Bay Hotel, and a handsome listed building which was owned by Spillers has been converted into a block of high quality flats.

The corporation has promised that of the 6,000 houses to

be built 25 per cent will be social housing, low cost, for rental or with shared equity. The corporation is building 300 low cost houses on a seven-acre site. Although some companies will have to find new homes, no residents will be moved in the developments.

Most of this, however, is nibbling at the edges of the main projects. As the corporation sees it, the barrage is necessary to turn Cardiff into a first-class capital city comparable with any in Europe.

The barrage will make the difference between creating a fully integrated maritime city and having just a refurbished

waterfront as an adjunct to established city centre.

The planners want Cardiff to be rather more like the comprehensive developments in US cities such as Baltimore and Boston than, say, like Liverpool and Southampton where critics feel the waterfronts have not been properly locked into the rest of these cities.

The proximity of Cardiff Bay to the city centre makes this eminently possible over time. The masterplan includes developments in Dumballs Road and Butetown. This would link the existing centre directly with the soft edge of the lake if all goes according to plan.

The CBDC has been at pains to get the overall strategy right. Urban planners competed to design a strategy. A review panel drawn from different walks of life comments on the architectural and aesthetic merits of development proposals.

When it is fully developed, say in 12 years, Cardiff Bay should be a mixture of offices, shops, leisure, housing and a new opera house for the Welsh National Opera. The hope is there will be investment of £2bn, meaning a leverage multiplier of 4 or 5 to 1 as the Americans would say. Some 30,000 jobs could be created.

So far, some £200m has been committed by the private sector, so the project is on course. But it is still a little uncertain whether it will be the integrated maritime city that dreams are made of, or something less.

Stewart Dalby

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## WALES 4

## FINANCIAL SERVICES

## Influx of big names

FIVE WEEKS ago a study was commissioned by the Welsh Development Agency and a group of public bodies to see how it might be made easier for women to return to work in Wales.

For a country that has often seemed to think only of the employment needs of men, the investigation will break new ground.

The study, which is to focus on four areas - Cardiff, Carmarthen, Cardigan and Merthyr Tydfil - is a tacit recognition that the changing nature of the Welsh economy, particularly in south Wales, means more women will be needed at work in the years ahead, especially in the growing financial services sector.

The danger that an influx of new companies may soak up the available workforce and in consequence push up wages to uneconomic levels already worries companies in Wales. Mr Bruce McDowell, general manager of TSB's general insurance division, which relocated to Newport two years ago, says: "There could be a shortage of labour in the 16-29 year-old range. We have established links with the Gwent Tec as well as the local schools and colleges to meet this problem."

"The continuing need to find labour for the service industries flowing into south Wales comes despite a large rise in the female workforce. Between 1984 and 1987, the last year for which official figures are available, the number of women entering employment rose by 25,000. That figure, according to Mr Phil Morgan, director of the South East Wales Financial Services Initiative, "is known to have increased sharply since then. Encouraging women back to work is vital to improving the economy of Wales."

That economy has changed radically with the emergence of a growing financial services industry in south Wales. Around 80,000 people are now employed in the sector in Wales as a whole and by the year 2000 that number is expected to have risen to 100,000. Yet the area, and especially Cardiff as a capital city, has never had a strong financial services sector. Exceptions, such as the long-established middle-range Principality Building Society, Chemical Bank, Chartered Trust and the Bank of Wales, originally founded by Sir Julian Hodge and now 75 per cent owned by the Bank of Scotland, merely point up the deficiency.

Welsh businessmen have traditionally looked to London for financial and professional services. An attempt four years ago by the WDA together with Charterhouse Venture Fund, Citicorp and others to set up a one-stop venture fund quickly folded when too few quality applicants sought its services.

Two years ago Mr Peter Walker, then Welsh Secretary, launched the South East Wales Financial Services Initiative, in conjunction with the local authorities, the WDA and the Cardiff Bay Development Corporation, to develop the area as a financial centre.

TSB was, in a sense, a role model of the new industry. The company had conducted a trawl of some 60 potential sites around Britain before choosing Newport. Its arrival pre-dated Mr Walker's initiative but it

**Around 80,000 people are now employed in the expanding financial sector, says ANTHONY MORETON**

was the sort of company he wanted to see in the area.

So, too, is the Bank of Wales. "Our business has grown very rapidly over the past three years," says Mr Eric Crawford, its chief executive. "We still see the future as extremely buoyant and confidence is good." But he warned that businessmen were taking longer over making investment decisions, especially in the property field.

The personal drive put behind the financial services initiative by Mr Walker and continued by his successor, Mr David Hunt, led to an influx of high-class names into the area. National Provident Institution, the mutual life assurance group, relocated its group pension activities from Tunbridge Wells in Kent to Cardiff, perhaps the biggest newcomer in terms of numbers employed.

Others to choose Cardiff include National Investment Group, the regional stockbroker group, which transferred a back office operation to the city before selling it on to France's Societe Generale. Banque National de Paris bought Chemical Bank's UK mortgage operations. Development Associates Group has joined 31 in the venture fund field. D C Gardner has come in with bank training and Noble Lowndes, the Sedgwick group and Willis Wrightson have strengthened their insurance

activities while the broking field has been enhanced by the arrival of Bell Lawrie White, the regional arm of merchant bank Hill Samuel.

The plan, though, was the decision of N M Rothschild to open a Cardiff office with Mr Glynne Clay, a leading local businessman, as managing director. With the exception of an office in Manchester, and that partly for historic reasons, Rothschild has never had any representation in Britain outside London. "Only Cardiff has the sort of future that interests us," Mr Michael Richardson, the bank's managing director and chairman of the Welsh operation, said at the time.

The growing importance of these moves was reflected last year when a Midlands engineering group used Cardiff professionals - accountants Ernst & Young, solicitors Morgan Bruce and Barclays Bank's Cardiff-based corporate finance group - for a management buy-out.

The success of Mr Walker's financial initiative has already led to its being extended for a further period; it has now been geographically extended to Mid-Glamorgan and Swansea, which has attracted Lloyds Bank's headquarters operation that handles in-house mortgages from London.

The initiative will place more attention on location, says Mr Morgan. "People are looking at Wales as a viable alternative. In the past six months we have been finding ourselves increasingly on the lists of companies that would not have considered coming near south Wales in the past. We are increasingly making the jump from being on the preliminary lists to being on the short lists."

The study to identify ways of bringing married women back to the workforce is only one move being made by Mr Morgan's team to ensure the labour market is adequately supplied. The professional base is also being strengthened, with a steady flow of accountants, solicitors, brokers and others in the financial field.

The dramatic rise in the financial services sector "has been the most significant change in the economy of Wales," says Mr Hugh Thomas, partner-in-charge of Price Waterhouse Wales. "The level of private sector investment in Wales has never been higher and has helped the emergence of 'home-grown' developers."

Mr Gwyn Davies, a partner in Cardiff lawyers Edward Lewis, adds that "local firms can do everything except Euro-bonds. The expertise here, now, is very widely based."

With property readily available along the M4 corridor, the area also has a further trump about to be played. The development of Cardiff Bay, some 2,700 acres of the southern half of the Welsh capital, will create an attractive working environment. Several investment banks and other financial institutions are looking seriously at Cardiff Bay. Few areas have the capacity for financial growth as this part of Wales.



Left: an industrial image of the past: a deserted mine at Trethafod, but new technology industries are emerging. Pictured top right at AB Electronic Products is Peter Phillips, chairman, with Edwin Merrett, managing director - "our quality is as good as anything the Japanese or Germans can achieve," says Mr Phillips.

## NEW TECHNOLOGY INDUSTRIES

## Emphasis on research

ALIGN-RITE is a small company tucked away at the back of the science park in Bridgend. It has been there since 1985, when its Burbank-based US parent set up an offshoot to make optical photo-masks and provide design services for the semiconductor industry.

The company has a workforce of 70, a number that will rise by 15 in the near future. Of these, some two-thirds are graduates or possess high-level academic achievement.

Align-Rite is typical of the "high-tech Wales" that is emerging. The country may once have been covered with coal mines and the high stacks of the industrial revolution but that is largely a thing of the past. Not all the new companies are as technological as Align-Rite but they are increasingly part of an environment in which R & D is being generated within Wales.

Mr Jim MacDonald, Align-Rite's chairman, says that "our business plans and aspirations have come to full fruition. We have successfully surpassed the five-year goals we set for our European endeavours in 1985." The company has spent more than a year in refining its manufacturing processes and procedures, a step which has led to it being granted a British Standards Quality Certificate BS 5750 last year.

Align-Rite has made one other, possibly unique, contribution to the Welsh economy. The group's international headquarters have been moved from Burbank to Bridgend. Few Americans have made such a dramatic business gesture as Mr MacDonald.

If Align-Rite is unique in that move, it is far from being a lone player on the Welsh high technology scene. Facing its plant in Bridgend is Spectrum Technologies, a spin-off from British Aerospace, which is developing lasers.

"High technology in Wales has improved enormously in the past half-dozen years," says Dr David Graham, director of technology marketing at the Welsh Development Agency. "There has been an explosion of companies active in R & D. This is partly because company profitability has risen. Partly, also, it reflects the realisation among managers that it is impossible to succeed in the technology field unless R & D plays an important part in their activities."

Other companies that have made their mark include those like Rockfield Software, which employs 50 people in Swansea investigating structures for stress. And Micro Materials in North Wales, which measures hardness on thin film. As well as Epitaxial Products in Cardiff, a specialist in indium

phosphide, a product at the forefront of semiconductor research.

The biggest single research centre run by a public company belongs to AB Electronics at Newport. One of the largest manufacturing companies in Wales, AB Electronics is based at Abercynon in Mid-Glamorgan. It employs over 5,000 people world-wide and is a world leader in the assembly of electronic systems and equipment using surface-mount and conventional technology. It makes a range of connectors, micro-circuits, electrical wiring harnesses, electronic systems and power supplies.

**The list of companies working in high technology areas in Wales is now extensive**

It is also one of the relatively small number of companies whose technical director occupies a seat on the main board. Professor Derek Embrey runs the Henry J Kroch Technology Centre at Newport, named after the man who built up the company and is now its president; as a board member Prof Embrey plays a full part in company policy, something that not all research directors in quoted companies do.

The emphasis on R & D is not the company's only route to success - "you have to get your quality right," says Mr Edwin Merrett, the managing director. "We have certainly done that. Our quality is as good as anything the Japanese or Germans can achieve."

Quality is something that Mr Alfred Gooding, chairman of Race Electronics, a fast-growing company in the surface-mount technology field, also emphasises. No-one is harder to impress than a Japanese manager but Race has been so successful that Mr Gooding has already entered into several agreements with Japanese concerns and was the first British company in which the Japanese took an equity stake - reflecting their supreme confidence in the group.

Quality in Wales has been much helped by the setting up last year of the Wales Quality Centre as well as six centres of excellence to stimulate R & D at colleges in Cardiff, Swansea Park, Bangor, Aberystwyth and Newport. The Biocomposites Centre, under its director Dr James Bolton, is examining the use of plant fibres in structural composites. It is, Dr Graham says, "undoubtedly world-class."

The list of companies working in high technology is extensive: Amersham International in Cardiff, Newbridge

Networks in Newport, Control Techniques in Newtown, the Robertson Group in Llanudno, Pilkington in St Asaph, Biotrol in Cardiff, Molynx in Newport, Seal Technology Systems in Cardiff, British Steel in Port Talbot, Immos and Mitel in Newport. The names could be multiplied.

"The most important factor is that these leading-edge technological companies have shown they can attract key staff and trade on a global basis from Wales," says Mr Ken Poole, of Price Waterhouse Wales. This strength on the ground has led to the Welsh Development Agency changing its emphasis this year. It has moved from support for start-ups to switching its main backing to growth companies. There will continue to be support for start-ups, such as Abbey Bio Systems in Swansea and Bridgend's Spectrum Technologies, but now the WDA, Dr Graham says, will be seeking to identify limitations to growth and ways of overcoming them.

"One of the main problem areas is management itself," Dr Graham says. "In small and medium-sized businesses, strategic management is often a missing ingredient. This leads to an inability to tackle dynamic markets, especially those in the higher value areas, and an inability to exploit technology, new or otherwise."

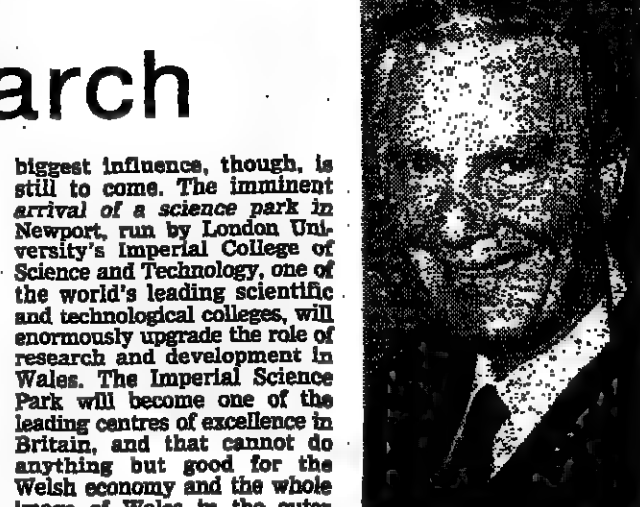
In marketing, Dr Graham has identified gaps which can be plugged. In particular, the WDA is putting great efforts behind getting businesses to "think European." It offers assistance in finding agents or partners in Europe and has especially strong links with Baden-Wurtemberg following the ties forged between Wales and this West German region by Mr Peter Walker when he was Welsh Secretary.

In all this trend towards higher technology, the influx of Japanese concerns must not be underestimated. Although most of the 31 Japanese companies in Wales, with the notable exception of Sony, undertake little direct R & D, they have been influential in raising standards among their local suppliers.

Another important influence has been the development of university-associated science parks in Wales. The Swansea Park has been the home of a number of growing companies. Another at Aberystwyth has had its successes while a third at Wrexham has developed a speciality in medicine and health services. That speciality will be extended when a medical innovation centre is built alongside the University of Wales hospital, a teaching hospital, in Cardiff. Perhaps the



Left: an industrial image of the past: a deserted mine at Trethafod, but new technology industries are emerging. Pictured top right at AB Electronic Products is Peter Phillips, chairman, with Edwin Merrett, managing director - "our quality is as good as anything the Japanese or Germans can achieve," says Mr Phillips.



Anthony Moreton, chairman of Race Electronics.

biggest influence, though, is still to come. The imminent arrival of a science park in Newport, run by London University's Imperial College of Science and Technology, one of the world's leading scientific and technological colleges, will enormously upgrade the role of research and development in Wales. The Imperial Science Park will become one of the leading centres of excellence in Britain, and that cannot do anything but good for the Welsh economy and the whole image of Wales in the outer world.

Anthony Moreton, chairman of Race Electronics.

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THE WELSH valleys have an Orwellian feel. Not the George Orwell of "1984" but the Orwell of "The Road to Wigan Pier."

The enduring images that spring to mind are of great hardship and poverty linked to the mining industry, with poor health standards.

In the 1920s nearly half the working population of Wales was associated with coal and steel or in transporting coal and steel across Britain and to the rest of the world. One adult male in three worked in the coal industry.

Most of the mining jobs have now disappeared and the steel industry is much reduced. But the legacy of these industries has been evident in the degraded landscape and environment and the high levels of unemployment, poor housing and bad health.

Surveys in the mid-1980s showed that unemployment in many spots was over 20 per cent. Adult male unemployment was nearer 30 per cent. Income levels were among the lowest in the UK outside Northern Ireland. More than half the deaths of men under 65 in Mid-Glamorgan were due to heart disease.

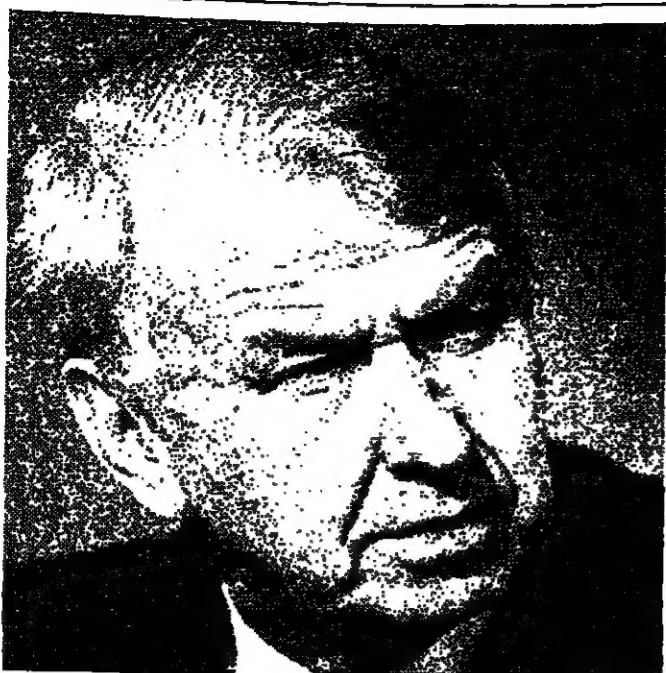
In Mid-Glamorgan more than 36 per cent of women and 41 per cent of men smoked - both above the national average of 31 and 36 per cent respectively. In the Cynon Valley 16 per cent of houses were deemed unfit for human habitation.

To help address the special problems of the valleys, Mr Peter Walker, then Secretary of State for Wales, set up his Valleys Initiative in 1988.

The area to be covered by the new programme had a population of 700,000, not much smaller than Liverpool and larger than Sheffield. But the area covered a dozen or so valleys and involved 17 district councils and five county councils.

The Initiative said a new quality of life would be brought to the valleys by reducing unemployment by 25,000 to 30,000, by removing the dereliction of the past, improving the existing housing stock, encouraging music, the arts and recreation and ensuring that the local community spirit is retained and enhanced.

Between 1986 and 1988 unemployment in the valleys decreased by 13,000 or 27 per cent, faster than the fall in the UK or Wales as a whole. Since 1979 some 350 new Welsh Development Agency factories have been built and occupied. In the same period 2,900 acres



Peter Walker set up the Valleys Initiative in 1988

Jobless fall above UK average

## Hope stirs in the valleys

of derelict land have been cleared and replaced by grass, trees and new buildings. By 1988 45,000 homes had been improved and those lacking the basic amenities halved.

In fact, the programme came in for criticism from some local councillors. They claimed it

was a cosmetic marketing exercise by Mr Walker. He had merely re-packaged the aid and assistance which would have flowed into the valleys anyway.

South Wales is the nearest major region to London to qualify for regional assistance. Apart from Northern Ireland, it receives more aid than anywhere in the UK. In the first two years of the programme it is estimated some £500m was pumped into the valleys under one scheme or another.

Mr David Hunt, the new Secretary of State, has yet to spell out his attitude to the Initiative and the criticisms, but the original three-year programme has been extended to five years.

Other local government officers feel the complaints about the programme are unfair. Mr Tony Roberts, recently appointed chief executive of

**'If the Cynon Valley were in a game of cards, it could claim it was holding four aces'**

the Cynon Valley District Council, says: "Whatever people might say about the Initiative it has focused attention on the particular needs of the valleys."

The Initiative represents a fine tuning of the schemes to cover all aspects of life, although some of the projects are new or enhanced versions of older ones. There is a 50-point programme which covers everything from housing, health and social services, environment, roads, tourism, leisure and the arts, education and training to the means of creating a new economy.

Perhaps most important of all, there is cheap land. The Cynon Valley is wider than most and because there has so far not been a large influx of companies, more than 100 acres of serviced land are available, from as little as £20,000 an acre.

According to Mr Roberts if the Cynon Valley were in a game of cards, it could claim it was holding four aces. No other valley, he says, can offer land, labour availability, the range of assistance and such good communications.

Under the chairmanship of Mr Ted Merrette, managing director of AB Electronics, a Cynon forum has been set up by 60 local businessmen which will preside over a Business in the Community project.

In addition, the Welsh Development Agency together with the district council are putting their weight behind a more aggressive marketing to change the valley's negative image.

The Cynon Valley, which is 25 miles north of Cardiff, is in many ways a microcosm of the valleys. Some 4,000 jobs were lost in the mid-1980s, which in a population of 65,000 meant unemployment shot up to more than 20 per cent. These jobs losses came not just from mine closures but also from the shutting down of branch factories, particularly in engineering.

Recently, however, the district council produced a brochure spotlighting the companies which have since been attracted to the valley. These include Hitachi, AB Electronics, Gooding Sanken, Dunlop, Firelli, Sheer Pride and Mayhew Chickens.

Where the Cynon Valley differs from many of the other valleys is that despite these successes it has lagged behind in terms of outside investment.

However, like the region, the valley offers a range of grants, loans and other assistance. These include WDA-built factories, selective regional assistance, and for small companies regional enterprise grants. The valley also qualifies for EC help from the European Steel and Coal Community Fund.

In addition, the Cynon Valley can offer plenty of workers. Unemployment has come down, but it is still 11 per cent, twice the Wales average. Communications are now good. The A470 is dual-lane and links up with Cardiff and the M4. Heathrow Airport is two hours' drive away.

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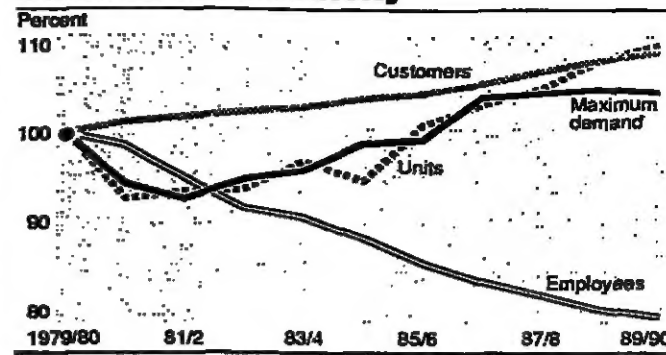
In addition, the Welsh Development Agency together with the district council are putting their weight behind a more aggressive marketing to change the valley's negative image.

Stewart Dalby

## ELECTRICITY PRIVATISATION

# Search for a brighter image

### South Wales electricity



remains a monopoly. The final supply of electricity to customers, including the largest, is only marginally profitable.

Indeed, South Wales Electricity says it would have lost money if it had tried to match some of its competitors' bids for supply business in its area. Nevertheless, senior managers like Mr Wynford Evans, the chairman, acknowledge that they have had to counter the impact on both staff morale and the company's public standing of the loss of the supply business.

The South Wales economy will largely determine the future path of the company's profits, since the amount of electricity distributed along its wires will be broadly decided by the health or otherwise of the local economy.

Here, too, South Wales Electricity suffers from an image problem, since it is seen as operating in an area that is over-dependent on declining heavy industries, such as steel and coal. Industrial customers account for 57.4 per cent of the company's sales, compared with an average throughout England and Wales of 36.7 per cent.

This image is in many ways misleading. Llanwern and Port Talbot, British Steel's main plants in South Wales, are now among the most efficient in Europe, with their future further secured by the rundown of the rival Scottish plant of Ravenscraig. The South Wales coal industry is already a shadow of its former self, while the economy has been busy diversifying.

Not only has South Wales

proved highly successful at attracting inward investment, particularly from Japan, it has also begun to build up its small commercial sector, with organisations such as the TSB and the Patents Office relocating there. Nevertheless, the commercial sector, which has contributed much of the growth in electricity demand in several of the English regional companies, still accounts for only 15.2 per cent of South Wales Electricity's custom. This compares with an average of 25.9 per cent in all of England and Wales.

One of the more serious problems facing the company is the possibility that many of the large industrial companies in the region may begin to generate their own electricity. The new electricity regime encourages such a move, yet it could eat heavily into South Wales Electricity's profits. Unlike the loss of the supply business, it would directly reduce the amount of electricity passing over the company's distribution network.

Another task facing the company is to sort out its retailing side, which made an operating profit of just £0.2m on turnover of £28.2m last year. South Wales Electricity has been among the poorer performers among the regional electricity companies in terms of retailing returns on turnover and average net assets. It has been introducing new shop styles and has opened superstores outside Cardiff, Swansea and Newport. Nevertheless, it may have to review its retailing operations, particularly in the sparsely populated areas of west Wales,

during its early years in the private sector.

Overall capital spending jumped 34 per cent in 1988-90 to £53m, as the company continued its programme of replacing ageing assets. But the strain placed on the company's resources by capital spending is expected to be containable since the programme is forecast to reach a plateau in 1992-93. However, productivity improvements may also be approaching something of a plateau: they have been above the industry average in recent years, with staff numbers down 8 per cent to 3,770 in five years.

The City remains a little puzzled by the company. UBS Phillips & Drew, one of the few large City firms which is "independent" because it is not acting as a broker to any electricity company, describes South Wales Electricity as "a high risk investment compared to the average of the distribution companies." By contrast, Smith New Court, joint broker to the 12 companies, projects "moderate real earnings growth" for the company's core distribution business.

Smith New Court argues that the Government has compensated for South Wales Electricity's potential disadvantages by giving it a relatively easy launch into the private sector. Jointly with Manweb, the company has the most headroom of all the regional companies to raise prices: its price control formula allows it to raise distribution charges by 2.5 per cent more than inflation each year. It will also start life in the private sector with just £25m of debt, the lowest amount of any of the regional companies.

For its part, the company's top managers stress that they are going to steer a cautious path in the private sector. Exciting forays outside its core business are unlikely. "There are going to be electricity companies that please the market by being very good at electricity distribution. We aim to be one," says Mr David Myring, the company's finance director.

David Thomas  
Resources Editor

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## WALES 8



A national treasure: Nant Gwynant, Snowdonia.

## Signs of a stronger economy

Continued from page 1

250m, one of which, undertaken by Hyperion Properties, an offshoot of National Freight Corporation, is the first major office scheme within the massive redevelopment of Cardiff Bay - "the proposals for Cardiff Bay alone are enormous," he says, "and the important thing is that this interest is not confined to either Cardiff or south-east Wales. The whole of the country is benefiting."

As if to confirm his words, two weeks ago Mr Hunt, the Welsh Secretary, unveiled a 250m scheme by Spedhill, the property arm of Tesco, for a site at Nantgarw, at the foot of the south Wales valleys, long described as Wales's inner-city area.

Another sign of the stronger economy is the rise in output. Since 1985 there has been a 32 per cent rise in manufacturing production in Wales compared with 19 per cent for the UK as a whole. The construction industries went up by 39 per cent against 22 per cent for the UK while there were particularly strong rises in the electrical engineering and printing industries.

Although the Welsh economy, helped by the strong inflow of new investment, has managed so far to ride the downturn which has affected most of the rest of the British economy in the past 18 months, there are warning signs that its growth may also

now be affected. Mr Ian Kelsall, Welsh director of the Confederation of British Industry, says it can "no longer be predicted that firms in the principality are riding the storm better than those elsewhere in the UK."

"Business confidence is lower, reflecting a squeeze on company profits and an increasing number of companies' cash flow is deteriorating due to higher levels of company borrowing during a period of high interest rates. Orders and output have deteriorated since April and an anticipated improvement in both has not materialised."

Sir Peter Phillips, chairman of AB Electronics, adds that the survey "shows a further decline in the confidence of Welsh manufacturing industry in the past few months, bringing to an end the period in which firms in the principality were outperforming their counterparts elsewhere in the UK."

That caution - gloom is perhaps too strong a word - is repeated by others. Touche Ross's Mr Lindsay points to "growing insolvency work being undertaken in south Wales. Wales is now experiencing the same sort of problems as the rest of the British economy. The country is suffering from the knock-on effect of what is happening elsewhere."

The announcement of the closure of the steelworks at Brynbo, the Blaenau pit clo-

sure, Ford's decision to pare back its massive new investment at Bridgend and Swansea and the closure of UK Optical in Kidwelly with the loss of 200 jobs shows that the long haul to pull Wales out of the recession after 1979 still has its difficult patches to negotiate.

Concern is also emerging over the ability of the new industries to find sufficient workers of the right quality.

## Level of skills

With Bosch and British Airways now fishing in the same pool University College's Mr Cooke says "the level of skills in the Welsh economy must be improved significantly, as must the level of technology used, if companies in Wales are to compete."

"There is a long way yet to go if Wales is to escape its current low-skill, low value-added and low output-per-capita profile," he claims.

Yet the extent of change in Wales is not confined to the industrial front. In the artistic world, Cardiff has become an important British centre, housing a top-rate symphony orchestra, the world-famous Welsh National Opera Company and good mainstream and fringe theatre. In the next few years the city is likely to have an international opera house in the development taking place in its docklands and, more immediately, a World Trade Centre, now approach-

ing completion by the Brent Walker group.

Politics, too, are changing. Five years ago it seemed as though a Conservative resurgence was about to happen. In 1983 the Conservatives won a record 33 of the 36 seats at the general election.

But Labour fought back and the Conservatives now hold only seven of the 36 seats. The resurgence of Labour and the decline of the Conservatives may turn out to be less important than the way in which it has been achieved. Labour has brought to the fore half a dozen MPs who might well be included in a future government. Young men who reached Westminster as recently as 1987, such as Mr Alun Michael and Mr Rhodri Morgan, are already front-bench spokesmen.

The new wave of Labour MPs is younger, radical but pragmatic, replacing the tired ward chairmen who have for so long represented the party in the Commons.

The last word comes from Dr Gwyn Jones, the WDA's chairman, who says that the prosperity allows Wales "to play a key role as a thriving region in the new Europe. Wales faces the 1990s in far better economic health than when the 1980s began. The economy has been broadened and the over-dependency on old-fashioned industries has been removed. The future is bright."

by the Development Board for Rural Wales. It covers 40 per cent of the land area of the country but has only 10 per cent of the population.

Of all these labels, the most unsatisfactory is that for the area known as North Wales. The two counties usually considered to comprise North Wales, Clwyd and Gwynedd, are as chalk and cheese in industrial make-up.

Clwyd is more like south Wales or areas of the north and Midlands. It had steel, coal mining, chemicals and textiles, particularly along Deeside.

Gwynedd which includes the Snowdonia National Park and some of the most beautiful scenery in the British Isles has tourism some small-scale industries, as well as agriculture and fishing.

Like other old industrial areas of the country, Clwyd underwent a great shake-out in the early 1980s. Some 8,000, mostly men, were thrown out of work when British Steel closed its steel-making activities at Shotton.

With coalmining reduced to one pit, and losses elsewhere, Clwyd and 22,000 out of work, equivalent to 20 per cent of the workforce, as the recession began to bite.

Clwyd has more than made good these losses by enticing into the area a wide range of companies many of them foreign. There are seven Japanese concerns which between them employ 2,500.

With others from the US and Western Europe, such as Kimberley Clark, Kellogg, Monsanto, Metal Improvement Company, some 6,000 are employed by foreign concerns.

British companies have contributed to the falling unemployment either through rationalisation, reorganisation or expansion. British Steel still has a presence in the area as do Pilkingtons and British Aerospace. The male unemployment rate in July was down to 6.1 per cent, below the national average of 6.6 per cent.

Regional aid from the government has been important in attracting new investment, and there has been the network of other agencies, the Welsh Office, the WDA, Welsh Development International, the district and borough councils and

## Focus on North Wales

## More attractions for investors



Deeside Industrial Park, Clwyd

not least the Clwyd County Council which has been very active setting out Clwyd's stall for potential investors to come and look. But there have been other factors.

This year work started on the construction of Toyota's engine plant which is on the 600-acre Deeside Industrial park. It will employ in the next couple of years 320 people and represent an initial investment of £250m.

Part of the attraction to a company like Toyota, is that because of its industrial past Deeside has a pool of labour with the skills needed. It is cheap labour compared to other parts of the north and Midlands.

But it is not just a labour issue. Clwyd had sought to win the major Toyota assembly plant which eventually went to Burnaston in Derbyshire. Before that it made a bid for the Nissan plant, which went to the north-east.

As Mr Robert Ashton, the marketing manager for the Clwyd County Council says: "You get no prizes for coming second, but our bids for Toyota and Nissan did put us on the map and publicise what we can offer."

What Clwyd offers, apart from skilled labour, is plenty of

relatively cheap land. Many authorities would not even consider bidding for the big industrial investments like Toyota, knowing full well they simply could not accommodate them. Steelworks take up a lot of land, so Clwyd has hundreds of acres on offer. At 24 a sq ft, it is considerably cheaper than many areas, even in the north of England.

Clwyd County Council insists that, despite the successes of recent years, it is not complacent. The prospects of further job losses during the closure of Brynbo steel works later this year has made the authority look to its laurels.

Mr Warren Phillips, the chief executive of the Clwyd County Council says: "We have been successful in getting new manufacturing jobs, as well as encouraging start-ups. Now we want to try and attract the better paying service companies."

Some service companies have been established, such as Iceland foods.

However, in the past, Clwyd was overshadowed by nearby Chester, which tended to take in the lion's share of the service groups looking at the area.

Now, with rents rising in Chester and shortages of the right type of accommodation, there are hopes that Wrexham

could become the focus of service companies' attention.

Clwyd County Council wants to combine this with a drive on tourism, in the broadest sense. This would include upgrading leisure and shopping facilities in old seaside towns such as Rhyl.

Tourism is obviously important to Gwynedd. Apart from Snowdonia, the county which begins at Conwy has some stunning scenery, of valleys and rushing rivers, as well as pretty towns and villages. It does not lend itself the kind of large investments seen in Clwyd.

In any event they would not be entirely welcome. Gwynedd is an area of Welshness with the Welsh language widely spoken in a way it is not in the anglicised east.

Gwynedd, like Mid-Wales, wants small and medium size relocations and business start-ups that are environmentally friendly. Small furniture makers, food processors or niche electronics manufacturers who would not intrude on the landscape and need not many employees are the kind of companies which would suit.

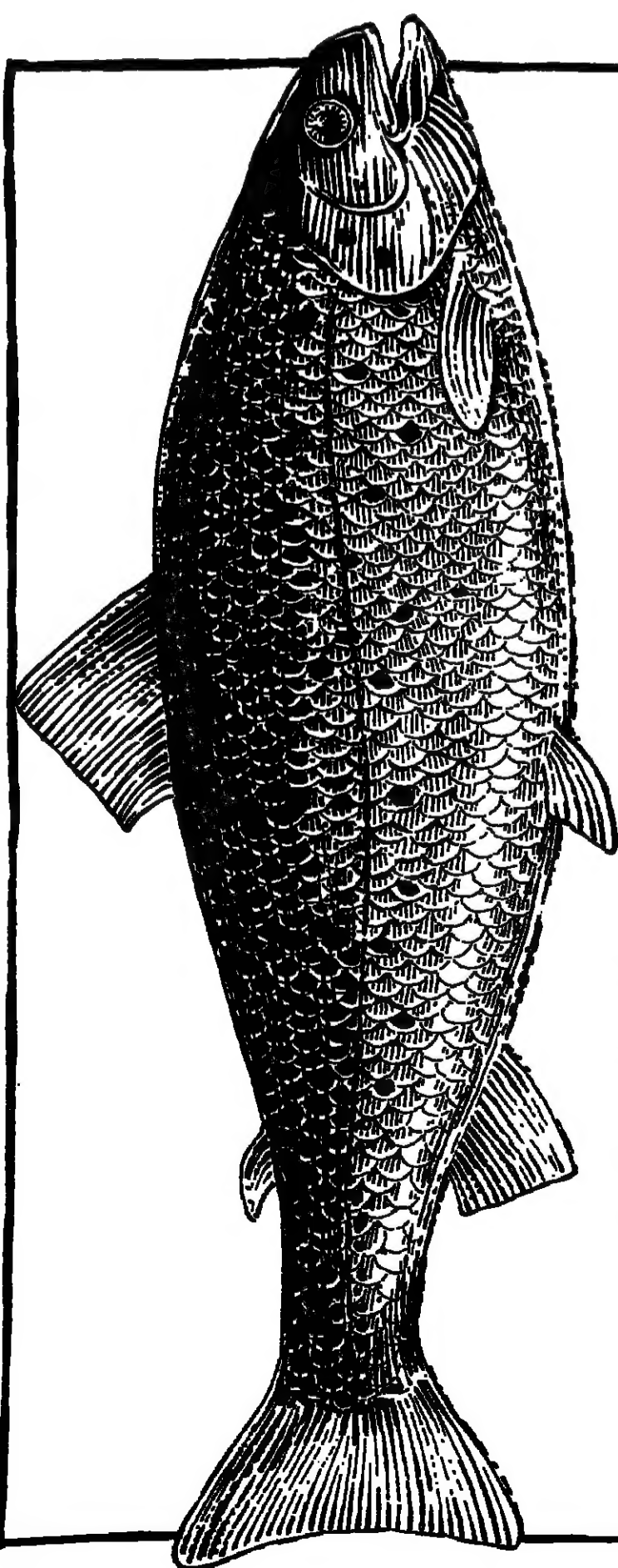
One problem is that unlike Mid-Wales, North Wales does not have its own development authority like the Development Board for Rural Wales to build factories for it. Rents are such that private developers are not yet interested in building speculative factories.

North Wales has to share out of the common Welsh Development Agency pot. There has been some criticism that the WDA has not given North Wales the attention it deserves. It has, however, begun to study certain black spots like Holyhead, and Blaenau Ffestiniog.

Another problem has been communications. Like south Wales and Mid-Wales, North Wales has a tendency to look east. The further west one goes, the less suitable the areas seem for redevelopment.

This situation is changing, however: the completion of the A55, so-called expressway along the coast to North Wales, virtually from the Liverpool-Manchester conurbation, has made Gwynedd attractive - not just to tourists, but also investors.

Stewart Daily



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